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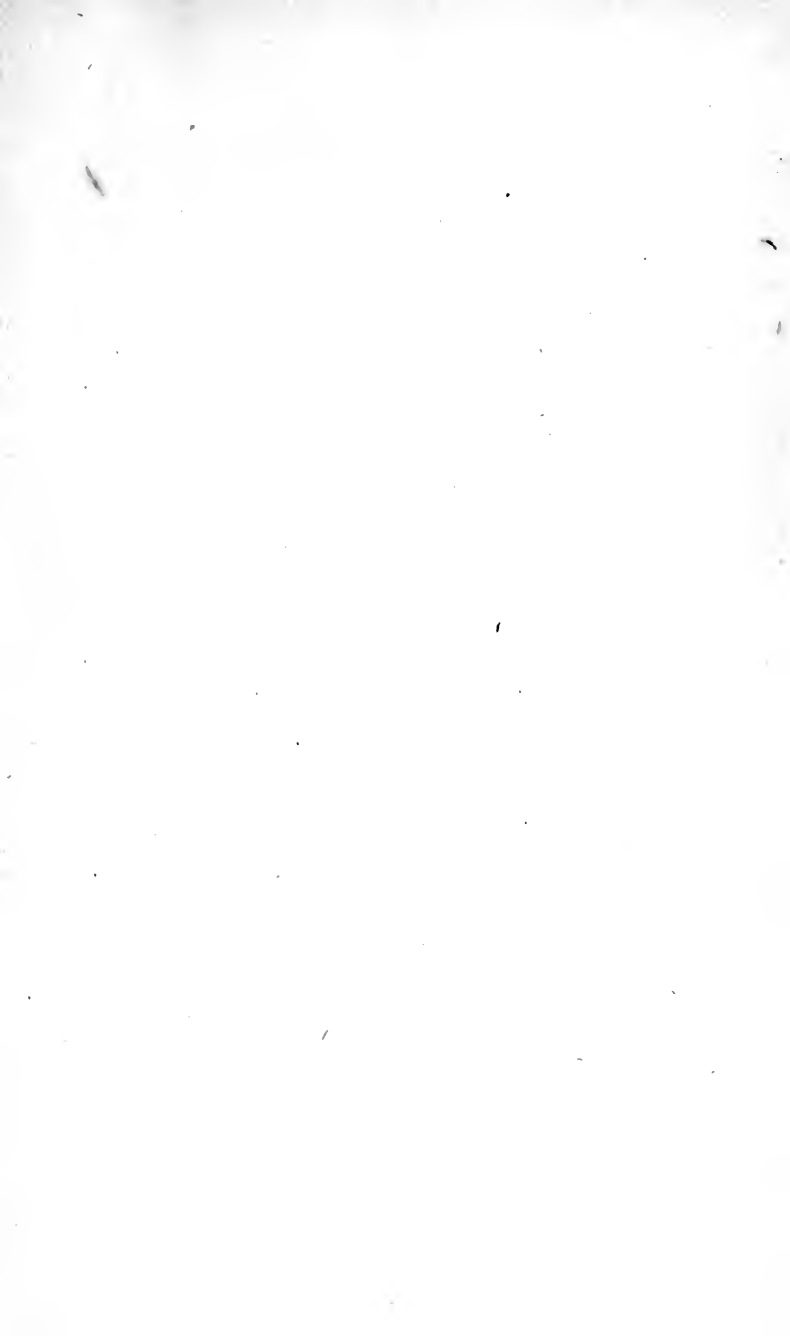
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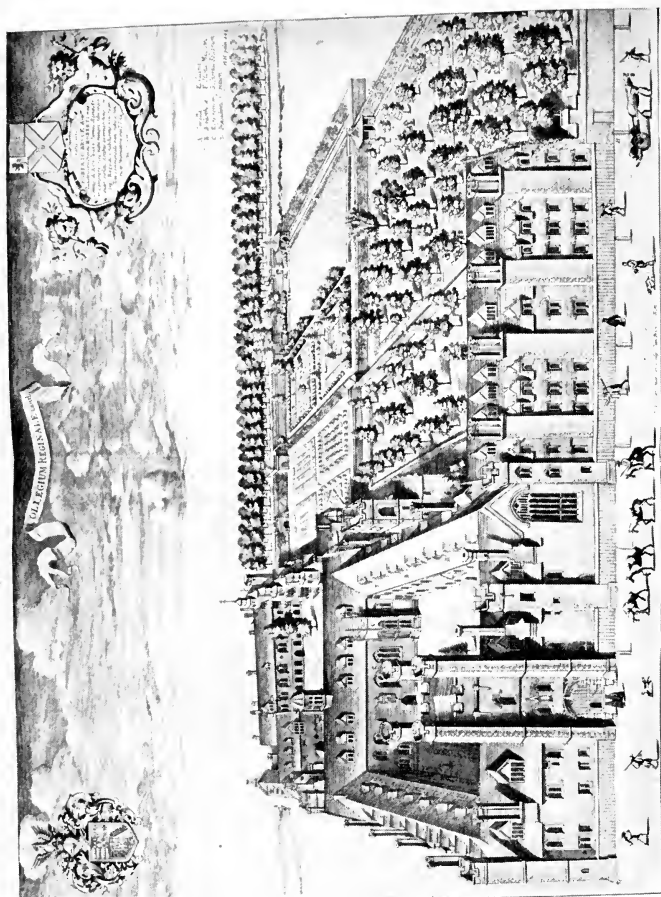
COLLEGE
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QUEENS' COLLEGE





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LOGGAN'S VIEW (c. 1688)

REDUCED FACSIMILE

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

THE QUEENS' COLLEGE

OF ST. MARGARET AND ST. BERNARD

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

BY

J. H. GRAY, M.A.

FELLOW AND DEAN OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



LONDON

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PREFACE

THIS little book has laid me under great obligations. My heaviest debts are to four works, viz., the Rev. W. G. Searle's "History of the Queens' College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard in the University of Cambridge," Part I. 1867, Part II. 1871; Messrs. Willis and Clark's "Architectural History of the University of Cambridge," 4 vols. 1886; Mr. J. B. Mullinger's "History of the University of Cambridge," Vol. I. 1873, Vol. II. 1884; and the late Mr. C. H. Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," 4 vols. 1842-52. Mr. Searle has been my chief guide as far as his work extends, viz., to 1662, and a very large proportion of my materials has been derived from him. I hope that he may be induced to continue his History down to the present time: *finis coronat opus*. "The Architectural History" has been my authority for almost all that concerns the buildings of the College, while to its editor, Mr. J. W. Clark, Registrar of the University, I am indebted for his kindness in allowing me to consult him. From Mr. Mullinger's volumes I have derived much information up to the year 1625, where his work at present stops; if I may venture to say so, it is a work which should not be allowed to end there. To study the history of the University during the period which follows 1625 under Mr. Mullinger's able guidance would be a delightful task. "The Annals of Cambridge" have brought within my reach much that I might otherwise have sought in vain. When my information has been drawn from this book, I have usually referred to it directly. To refer to the authority

cited by Mr. Cooper, often some rare report or some forgotten pamphlet, would be, I think, unfair to that indefatigable collector, and would be claiming for myself an amount of research to which I make no pretensions. Of other books Thomas Fuller's "Church History" and "History of the University of Cambridge" are perhaps most often cited. And it is appropriate that Fuller should be quoted in a book which deals with the history of his own College.

I have to thank Mr. R. Bowes, of the firm of Messrs. Macmillan and Bowes, for permission to reproduce the ground-plan of the College from Messrs. Atkinson and Clark's "Cambridge Described and Illustrated." The illustrations are from photographs taken for me by Mr. J. Palmer Clarke. The notes on the Library I owe to Mr. F. G. Plaistowe, Librarian and formerly Fellow of Queens' College. My warmest thanks are due to Dr. Ryle, the President, and to Mr. Wright, the Tutor of Queens' College, for revising the book in proof.

I fear that, at the best, the book is not at all worthy of "the royal and religious foundation," which in this present year has attained the venerable age of four hundred and fifty. The work has been a labour of love. I could wish that it had also been a labour of leisure. Such time as I had at my disposal has been most willingly given to the work, but a really adequate History of Queens' College, more than of most other Colleges, would require an amount of time, and also of knowledge, historical, antiquarian and architectural, which it is wholly out of my power to command. I am conscious of many shortcomings; I fear there may be many others of which I am ignorant, "*quas aut incuria fudit aut humana parum cavit natura.*"

J. H. GRAY.

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Dec. 8, 1898.

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LOGGAN'S VIEW (C. 1688) REDUCED FACSIMILE

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1446 (Dec. 3). First foundation of St. Bernard's College.
- 1447 (Aug. 21). Second foundation of St. Bernard's College (transferred to the present site).
- Petition of Queen Margaret to Henry VI.
- 1448 (March 30). Charter for the foundation of the Queens' College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard.
- (April 14). Contract for wood-work of part of first Court.
- (April 15). Queen Margaret's letters founding the College.
- (April 15). The corner-stone of the Chapel laid by Sir John Wenlock.
- 1449 (March 4). Gift of £200 by Henry VI.
- (March 6). Contract for wood-work to complete the first Court.
1450. Gift of £220 by Marmaduke Lumley, Bp. of Lincoln.
- 1454 (Dec. 12). The Chapel licensed by Wm. Gray, Bp. of Ely.
1460. W. side of Cloister Court built.
1465. Queen Elizabeth Widville becomes Patroness.
1468. Visit of Queen Elizabeth Widville.
- 1475 (March 10). The first Statutes given by Queen Elizabeth Widville.
- (Oct. 6). The ground W. of the river acquired from the town.
- 1477 (April 10). Endowment by Richard, Duke of Gloucester.
- 1484 (July 5). Second endowment by Richard of Gloucester, now King—"resumed by Henry VII."
- (Nov. 4). Death of Andrew Dokett.
- The "Magnum Journale" commenced.
1495. N. and S. sides of Cloisters built.
- 1505 (April). Election of Bp. Fisher as President.
- Visit of the Lady Margaret.
- 1506 (April 22). Visit of Henry VII. and the Lady Margaret; first visit of Erasmus.

- 1508 (June). Resignation of Bp. Fisher.
1510. Return of Erasmus, who resides 1511-1515.
Erection of Gallery or Ambulatory, *i.e.*, the old Study.
1519. Visit of Catharine of Aragon.
1520. Visit of Cardinal Wolsey.
1522. Visit of Henry VIII.
1529. The Statutes confirmed by Pope Clement VII.
1530. Sir Thomas Smith elected Fellow.
- 1537 (?) The Gallery built.
1538. The Carmelites surrender their site, which is finally acquired
1544.
1542. Sir Thomas Smith Regius Professor of Civil Law, Vice-
Chancellor 1543-1544.
1546. The Commission of Henry VIII.
1549. The Commission of Edward VI.
1557. The Commission of Mary; the Statutes of 1529 restored.
1559. The Commission of Elizabeth; the Edwardian Statutes
restored.
1564. Visit of Queen Elizabeth.
Erection of the building in Pump Court.
1577. Death of Sir Thomas Smith.
1618. Erection of Walnut-Tree Court building.
1642. The College Plate sent to the King.
1643. The Chapel disfigured by William Dowsing.
1644. Edward Martin, President, and the Fellows deprived by the
Parliament.
1652. Death of John Smith.
1660. Dr. Martin restored.
1661. Restoration of the Chapel.
1685. Planting of Erasmus' Walk.
- 1705 (April 15). Visit of Queen Anne.
1732. Hall wainscoted and covered with flat ceiling.
- 1749-50. Wooden Bridge built over river.
1756. Erection of Essex's building.
1772. Library enlarged.
1773. Alterations in Chapel; flat ceiling introduced.
- 1778-82. Walnut-Tree Court rebuilt after fire,
- 1819-22. Oriol of Hall ornamented with arms of Foundresses, &c.
1845. Flat ceiling of Chapel removed.
1846. Flat ceiling of Hall removed.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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- 1854. Oriel of Hall restored and Windows altered.
- 1858. First Victorian Statutes.
Complete restoration of Chapel commenced.
- 1861. Fireplace of Hall decorated.
- 1875. E. Front restored and decorations of Hall finished.
- 1882. The Second Victorian Statutes.
- 1886. Friars' Buildings commenced.
- 1891 (Oct. 13). New Chapel dedicated by Lord Alwyne Compton,
Bp. of Ely.
- 1892 (Sept. 27). New Organ opened.
- 1896. Renovation of President's Lodge.
- 1898. Friars' Gate built.





CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF QUEENS' COLLEGE

"Quarta vides nostris quae surgunt proxima ripis
Moenia? Regina domus haec auctore superbit :
Margaris, Henrici coniux, haec condidit olim,
Dum melior fortuna fuit, necdum aspera frustra
Aspera captivo pro coniuge bella moveret."

Giles Fletcher, 1633.

It is a curious fact that when the system of Non-Collegiate Students was inaugurated in 1869 the step was not a new departure, but was a reversion to the original type. In the early days of the University all students were "unattached." But before 1869 for three centuries every member of the University had been attached to some College or Hall, so that the supporters of the Non-Collegiate system were "putting back the clock" some three hundred years.

The mediæval University was not a *Universitas studiorum*, but a corporation or guild of teachers, possessing certain privileges and associated together for purposes of teaching and with the object of preserving their rights. They admitted no one as a member of their body without proof of his ability. This proof was given by public disputation, and "the degree" was a licence to teach. Students who desired to hear the teachers took up their residence in the

University town, and attended the lectures in the schools. But the University as a body had no concern with the life of the students beyond the fact that its officers exercised a superintendence over the houses in which they lodged, and assumed a care over public morals. The taxors and the proctors¹ were the only University officials who were in any sense charged with the well-being of the students.

This is practically the state of things which still exists in all Universities save Oxford and Cambridge. These two Universities are differentiated from all others by the Collegiate system. The College in its original form was a foundation for the lodging and maintenance of deserving students. It was in the main eleemosynary in character, and was designed to provide for the residence of students whose lack of means would otherwise debar them from the advantages of the University. Once the system was started it speedily carried everything before it. The student of the College, well fed, well clothed, well taught and properly looked after, had advantages incomparably greater than the solitary student, who was left to riot or to starve in his lodgings. The Colleges gradually absorbed all the students of the University, although Hostels existed in considerable numbers as late as the middle of the sixteenth century; indeed, Dr. Caius laments as an evil effect of the Reformation the fact that the Hostels had become depleted and were gradually being closed or swallowed up in the Colleges. In the end the College

¹ A good account of the Proctors and Taxors will be found in Mr. S. M. Leathes' Introduction to "Grace Book A" (Cambridge 1897).

prevailed, every official of the University was a member of a College, and the University itself an aggregate of Colleges.

This conception of the University as a literary republic, of which the Colleges are, so to speak, the constituent states, is peculiar to the two great English Universities. How unintelligible it is to the foreign mind will be obvious to any one who has tried to explain it to some "distinguished stranger." A University requires as its local habitation a senate-house, a library, and schools or lecture-rooms. These the University of Cambridge possesses, but they constitute a very small part of the buildings shown to the stranger who is paying a visit to the University. There is a story of some learned foreigners who were much perplexed by this anomaly, as it appeared to them. They were taken from building to building and College to College, but always reverted to the question, "But where is the University?" Again and again the question came up: "Oh, yes! I understand: this is Trinity College, this is St. John's College," or whatever it might be; "but where is the University?" At last, when their guides were in despair of making themselves understood, the then Secretary of the Local Examinations, without whose aid few things were attempted in Cambridge, opportunely issued from the Library, and one of the conductors pointed to him in triumph, "There is the University." The foreigners were silenced: whether they were satisfied or not the story does not explain.

The Collegiate system is due in Oxford to Walter de Merton (1265 A.D.). In Cambridge it is due to Hugh de Balsham, the founder of Peterhouse (1284 A.D.), who

followed closely the statutes drawn up by Walter de Merton for his College. How speedily the conception spread is seen from the dates of the existing Colleges. Within little more than half a century after the foundation of Peterhouse we have Clare (1326), Pembroke (1347), Gonville and Caius (1348), Trinity Hall (1350), and Corpus Christi (1352). And the number might be increased if we took into account such foundations as those of Michael-House (1324), and King's Hall (1337), which were afterwards absorbed into the great foundation of Trinity College.

For a time there was a cessation of activity. Then the zeal for founding broke out again, and, practically within little more than half a century, no fewer than six of the existing Cambridge Colleges sprang into being. They are King's College (1441), Queens' (1448), St. Catharine's (1473), Jesus (1496), and the two foundations of the Lady Margaret, viz., Christ's (1505) and St. John's (1511). It is with the second College in this second group that we are concerned.

The true founder of Queens' College was Andrew Dokett.¹ In the words of the Commemoration-Service :

"First of all I must mention with most grateful memory Andrew Dokett, Rector of St. Botolph's, Principal of St. Bernard's Hostel and our first President, to whom is due the merit of the design of founding the College, and to whose zeal, ability, liberality and prudence

¹ Or perhaps more correctly Doket. In "Grace Book A," p. 9, the name is spelt Doget. Fuller (see p. 11) gives Ducket, which approximates to the modern spelling. Sir George Duckett has recently presented to the College the seal used by his ancestor Andrew Dokett.

the successful establishment of this Foundation is mainly to be attributed."

It is tantalising that we are able to glean but little about the early life of this remarkable man. He was a Friar (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," v. 33). He appears as Principal of St. Bernard's Hostel, which was one of the many lodging-houses for non-collegiate students then existing in Cambridge. St. Bernard's Hostel was situated in Trumpington Street, on the north side of St. Botolph's churchyard, and adjoining Benet, now Corpus Christi, College, by which it was subsequently absorbed. The advowson of St. Botolph's at that time belonged to Corpus Christi College, and Andrew Dokett was presented to the living by that society before the year 1439, when his name appears as Vicar of St. Botolph's. He became Rector October 21, 1444, when the great tithes were restored to the living by Corpus Christi College (Lamb, "Hist. of C. C. C.," p. 305; Searle, p. 49). He was subsequently made a Prebendary of the free chapel of St. Stephen (founded by Edward III. 1347) within the Palace of Westminster, but exchanged this preferment in 1479 with Dr. Walter Oudeby, Provost of the College of Cotterstoke or Cotterstock, near Oundle, in the county of Northampton. Andrew Dokett also became Prebendary of Ruiton in the Church of Lichfield, July 22, 1467. This he exchanged in 1470 for the Chancellorship of the same church, an office which he resigned July 6, 1476. The rectory of St. Botolph's he resigned in 1470. He lived until November 4, 1484.

Andrew Dokett obtained from King Henry VI., on December 3, 1446, a charter of incorporation for a College under the title of the College of St. Bernard. The

site on which it was intended to place this building lies to the east of the present College. It was a strip of ground extending from Trumpington Street on the east to Milne Street, the present Queens' Lane, on the west. The ground did not extend as far south as Smallbridges Street, now Silver Street. Then some dwelling-houses lay between the site and this street, and on the north were other dwelling-houses, which with the site itself afterwards became the property of St. Catharine's College.

The original Society consisted of the President and four Fellows. They seem to have found the chosen site unsuitable for their purpose, and by the King's permission returned the charter, praying that in its stead he would accept a new piece of ground near the river, which, together with four tenements acquired by them, they made over to the King. The greater part of this new site was a messuage and garden conveyed to Dokett, July 24, 1447, by John Morys of Trumpington and Elizabeth his wife. This ground extended from Milne Street on the east to the river on the west, and the four tenements with their gardens, which formed its southwest corner, belonged conjointly to John Morys and John Battisford of Chesterton. These were acquired July 26, 1447, and were conveyed to the King by the same deed. The present site also includes a piece of ground which then belonged to Corpus Christi College, a house, the property of Thomas Forster, and the corner-house of John Morys, which were shortly afterwards acquired by the College.

In the deed of surrender they pray for a new charter refounding the College on this site next to the Carmelite Friars, as a site more favourable to the prospects

of the foundation, and offering more scope for its expansion. This is clear from the words of the King's charter: "*pro placabiliiori situ ac elargatione edificiorum et habitationis huiusmodi collegii.*"

On Aug. 21, 1447, the King acceded to the request of the Society, revoked the former charter, and refounded the College of St. Bernard on the new site. The charter gives the names of the President and the first four Fellows, "John Lawe, Alexander Folkelowe, Thomas Haywode, and John Carewey, clerks," and the statutes are to be made by John Somerset, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Richard [Cawedray], Peter [Hirford], John Sperhauk, Hugh [Damlet], and Thomas Boleyn. The charter is quoted in full, Searle, pp. 8-15. Appended to the charter is the Great Seal of England.

At this juncture Margaret of Anjou, the Queen of Henry VI., petitioned the King to allow her to found and name the College. The document is preserved among the College muniments. It runs as follows:

"MARGARET,

"R. H.

"To the King my souverain lord.

"Besecheth mekely Margaret quene of England youre humble wif, Forasmuche as youre moost noble grace hath newly ordeined and stablissed a collage of seint Bernard in the Universite of Cambrigge with multitude of grete and faire privilages perpetuely appartenyng unto the same, as in your lettres patentes therupon made more plainly hit appereth, In the whiche universite is no collage founded by eny quene of England hidertoward, Plese hit therfore unto your highnesse to yeve and graunte unto your seide humble wif the fondacon and determinacon of

the seid collage to be called and named the Quenes collage of sainte Margarete and saint Bernard, or ellis of sainte Margarete vergine and martir and saint Bernard confessor, and therupon for ful evidence thereof to have licence and pouoir to ley the furst stone in her owne persone or ellis by other depute of her assignement, so that beside the mooste noble and glorieus collage roial of our Lady and saint Nicholas founded by your highnesse may be founded and stablissed the seid so called Quenes collage to conservacōn of oure feith and augmentacōn of pure clergie, namly of the imparesse [empress] of alle sciences and facultees theologie. . to the ende there accustomed of plain lecture and exposicōn botraced [buttressed] with docteurs sentence autentiq' performed daily twyes by two docteurs notable and wel avised upon the bible aforenone and maistre of the sentences afternoone to the publique audience of alle men frely, bothe seculiers and religieus, to the magnificence of denominaçōn of suche a Quenes collage and to laud and honneure of sexe feminine, like as two noble and devoute contesses of Pembroke and of Clare founded two collages in the same universite called Pembroke hall and Clare hall, the wiche are of grete reputacōn for good and worshipful clerkis, that by grete multitude have be bredde and brought forth in theym, And of youre more ample grace to graunte that all privileges immunitees profites and comodities conteyned in the lettres patentes above reherced may stonde in their strength and pouoir after forme and effect of the contene in theym. And she shal ever preye God for you."

The date of this petition is between August 21, 1447, and March 30, 1448. The Queen, as a royal personage, puts her name at the top, and the letters R. H. are the

King's sign-manual, by which he countersigned it on returning it to the Queen granted.

The motives which induced the young Queen—she was only eighteen—to become the patroness of the College are thus given by Thomas Fuller ("Univ. of Camb.," v. 31):

"As Miltiades' trophy in Athens would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so this Queen beholding her husband's bounty in building King's College was restless in herself with holy emulation until she had produced something of the like nature, a strife wherein wives without breach of duty may contend with their husbands which should exceed in pious performances."

And, so far as the Queen was concerned, we need not doubt that the explanation is true. Margaret was brilliant and ambitious, her high abilities and her great position had already made her, rather than her gentle consort, the leading personage in the realm. She would naturally be eager to associate her name with such a work. Nor is it without significance that Cardinal Beaufort, who had brought about her marriage with the King, appears as one of the earliest benefactors of the College. We may infer that he would readily encourage his royal mistress to accept the position offered her. At the same time we can hardly doubt that the far-sighted Dokett had found reason to seek the Queen's patronage for his foundation. "Whether Andrew Dokett" (says Mr. Searle, p. 16), "finding the King too busy with affairs of state and the management of his own two foundations, King's College and Eton College, contrived to engage the Queen's interest in a similar

work, there is no evidence to show." But it is not a very hazardous guess that the Queen's patronage was due as much to Dokett's prudence as to her own ambition.

And so St. Bernard's College disappeared. The Queen became patroness, the charter was returned to the King a second time to be revoked, with a petition that the King would grant the lands conveyed by the charter to Queen Margaret with a licence to found "another College in honour of the glorious virgin St. Margaret and of St. Bernard, on the ground late of John Morys of Trumpington, Esquire." In accordance with these petitions, letters patent under the Great Seal were issued March 30, 1448, granting to Queen Margaret the lands of St. Bernard's College and licence to found a College.¹ In the exercise of the power thus given her, the Queen, by a document dated April 15, 1448, reciting the King's licence of March 30, and repeating its provisions in her own name, proceeds, "in the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious virgin Mary and of saint Margaret and saint Bernard, by power and authority of the King's licence given and granted us in this matter by the letters specified above," to found a College for one President and four Fellows, "to the praise, glory and honour of Almighty God," by the name of the Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard (*Collegium Reginale Sancte Margarete et Sancti Bernardi*).

In these two charters of Henry and Margaret the President and Fellows are the same as in the charter for

¹ The charter is transcribed by Mr. Searle, pp. 18-26.

St. Bernard's College. "They were to form a corporation able to sue and to be sued, with a common seal and having licence to hold property in mortmain to the amount of £200 a year" (Searle, p. 28). The statutes were to be framed by William Booth, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, John Somerset, Richard Cawedray, Peter Hirford, Hugh Damlet, Thomas Boleyn, and William Millington, clerks. Mr. Searle collects what is known about these persons (pp. 32-36). But there is no evidence that any statutes were framed for the College during the reign of Henry VI. Probably the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses rudely interrupted such works of peace. In the quaint words of Fuller ("Univ. of Camb.," v. 33):

"The child thus come to the birth, there was no strength to bring forth, had not the skill of the midwife supplied the want of strength in the mother. I mean Andrew Ducket [Dokett], for forty years first Master of this House, formerly a Fryer, Rector of S. Buttolph's in Cambridge, Principale of St. Bernard's Hostel, who gathered much money from well-disposed people, to finish this Colledge, and accounted by some, though not by his purse by his prayers, the Founder thereof. A good and discreet man, who with no sordid but prudentiall compliance so poised himself in those dangerous times betwixt the successive Kings of Lancaster and York, that he procured the favour of both, and so prevailed with Queen Elizabeth, wife to King Edward the fourth, that she perfected what her professed enemy had begun. A good-natur'd Lady, whose estate (whilest a widow) being sequestred for the delinquency of her husband (things, though not words, then in fashion) made her more merciful to the miseries of others."

It will be in keeping with Fuller's description of Elizabeth Widville as "a good-natur'd Lady," if we credit her with other motives than that of outdoing what her predecessor had done, when she became the patroness of the College. Elizabeth herself had strongly sympathised with the Lancastrian party. She had been a lady-in-waiting to Margaret of Anjou, and her husband had fallen in battle for the Lancastrian cause. When Margaret was finally defeated, Elizabeth mitigated the rigour of her imprisonment. We may suppose then that she was rather completing the work of her mistress than trying to supersede a rival. In Mr. Mullinger's words ("Univ. of Camb.," i. p. 316):

"It is not improbable that sympathy with her former mistress, then passing her days in retirement in Anjou, may have prompted her to accede to the prayer of Andrew Dockett, the first President of the Society, and to take the new foundation, henceforth written Queens' College, under her protection."

The present position of the apostrophe after the 's' not inadequately corresponds to the facts of the case. It gives Queen Elizabeth due credit without derogating from the claims of Queen Margaret. History may recognise the claims of both without disparaging the claims of either. We may think of Elizabeth as loyally following in the footsteps of the Queen whom she had known and served before the strange chances of destiny had brought her the prospect of a crown.

"The example of Queen Margaret was followed by Elizabeth, Queen Consort of Edward IV., after the accession of the House of York. In the year 1465 she

became patroness of the College, and in the year 1475 she gave us our first statutes, in which she is declared to be 'the true Foundress.' " (Commemoration Service.)

The ground conveyed by Dokett to the Crown forms not much more than a third of the site upon which the College stands. It may be convenient here to complete the history of the steps by which the whole property was acquired. The northern portion of the site, on which the Walnut Tree Buildings, the Friars' Buildings and the New Chapel now stand, as well as the ground occupied by the President's Garden and the Fellows' Bowling-Green, belonged to the Carmelites, or White Friars, who had been located first at Chesterton, then at Newnham, finally, since 1292, in the parish of St. John, Milne Street. Between the College property and the property of the Carmelites there was a ditch and a wall, and a lane extended from Milne Street in the direction of the river. The wall, with the ground on which it stood, was sold by the Friars to the College on February 12, 1537, for £1 3s. 4d. Eighteen months later (August 8, 1538), when the dissolution of the religious houses was imminent, "perhaps under the impression that better terms would be obtainable from the College than from the Crown" (Willis and Clark, ii. p. 3, *q.v.*), the Carmelites surrendered their property to the President (Dr. Mey) and Fellows of Queens' College. It will be noted that this surrender takes place between the Act of 1536, which suppressed the smaller houses, and the Act of 1539, which vested in the King all such monasteries as had been or should be afterwards surrendered. "The Pilgrimage of Grace"

had been put down, and a new visitation appointed, by which the larger monasteries were being coerced or bribed into surrender to the Crown. This deed sets forth that

“ We George Legat, prior of the howse of friers Carmelites in Cambridge, commonlie called the White Friers, and the covent of the same howse . . . gladly ffrely and willynglie do give and graunt and surrender in to the hands of the right worshipfull Mr. William Mey, doct^r. in law civill . . . all that owr howse and grownd called the White friers in Cambridge, with all and singular the appertinences therof and therunto belonging. And we also by these presents do testifie that, when we shal be required therunto, we shall depart from the seid howse and grownd and give place unto them, and also shal be redie at all tymes to make wrytyngs, and seale to all such wrytyngs as shal be devised by ther learned cownsell to lie in us for the confirmation and assuraunce of this owr gift and dede towards them : so that this owr fact and dede be nothyng preiudiciall, but alowed and approved of and by owr most dred and soueraigne lord the Kyng, In whose graces power and pleasure, beyng the supreme hed of this catholik church of England, we confesse and acknowledge that it is to alowe or disalowe this owr fact or dede.”

However, the transaction was not “ alowed and approved of and by owr most dred and soueraigne lord the Kyng,” for a royal commission was issued on August 17, 1538, to Dr. Daye, Provost of King's College, Dr. Mey, President, and two of the Fellows of Queens' College, directing them that

“repayring unto the said howse [of the White Friars] immediatly uppon the receipt hereof, ye shal receve of the priour ther, in our name and to our use, such sufficient writing under the convent seale of the said howse, as by your discretion shal be thought mete and convenyent for the surrendre of the same ; The which surrendre so made, we wooll that ye shal take possession of the said howse, and soo to kepe the same to our use tyll further knowleage of our pleasour, taking a true and perfite Inventory of all the goodes of the saide howse, the which our pleasour is ye shall send unto us incontynently, to thentent our further mynde may theruppon be declared unto you with more speed and celeritie.”

These instructions were obeyed. The deed of surrender was made August 28th, an inventory of the Friars' goods taken September 6. On November 28, 1541, Dr. Mey purchased from the King's officers the stone, slate, tile, timber, iron and glass which had belonged to the Carmelites for £20. The site was granted by the King to John Eyre of Bury, September 12, 1544, who sold it to Dr. Mey, and it was transferred to the College November 30, 1544.

This brought into the possession of Queens' College the whole property on the east side of the river. The ground on the west side, then an island, had been acquired previous to this date. Letters patent were sent on behalf of the College to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of the town of Cambridge by King Edward IV., Queen Elizabeth, and their son Prince Edward in 1475. On October 6 in that year, “on contemplation of the honourable letters of our most dread lord the King, the most excellent Princess our

lady the Queen and the illustrious and most mighty Prince," the borough, in consideration of 40 marks, granted to Andrew Dokett, the President, and the Fellows and their successors for ever this land on the west side of the river. It is described as

"a parcel of the common land or soil of the town, between the common river running down from the King's Mill and the Bishop's Mill on the east, and the river running down from Newnham Mill on the west, and from divers bounds called 'Stakis' placed on the north part of the street leading from the town of Cambridge to Newnham, between the two bridges called the Smale Brigges, distant from the said street on the east part 28 ft. and towards the west 63 ft."

The College undertook to lengthen "the Smale Brigge next the College by twelve feet," and to widen "the river on the east of the said soil" to the breadth of fifty-one feet. Leave was likewise given the College to throw a bridge over the river on the east part of the soil, so that the arch of such bridge stretched as far as the arch of the bridge of King's College. The condition of the island and the position of the streams that surrounded it are shown in Hammond's Map of Cambridge, 1592. A plan reduced from this map is given by Willis and Clark, ii. p. 5.

We may now proceed to trace the history of the buildings erected on the east side of the river.



CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS

“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers.”

QUEEN MARGARET's charter of foundation was dated April 15, 1448. It had been her intention to lay the first stone in person, but, as she was unable to do this, perhaps on account of the plague then prevalent in Cambridge, she commissioned Sir John Wenlock, her chamberlain, to act for her. The stone was laid on the very day on which the charter was given.

“Sir John Wenlock Knight laid the first stone of this Colledge in the East end and South side of the Chappel, in the name of Queen Margaret, Aprill 15, 1448, who caused this inscription to be engraved thereon: ‘*Erit Dominae Nostræ Reginae Margaretæ Dominus in refugium, et lapis iste in signum.*’ The Lord shall be for a refuge to the Lady Margaret, and this stone for a signe. Indeed, poor Queen, soon after she needed a sanctuary to shelter herself when beaten in battel, and the aforesaid (since Lord Wenlock) slain at Teuksbury.”

So, characteristically, Fuller (“Univ. of Camb.,” v. 32). But according to a brief MS. history of the foundation of the College, written about 1470, the inscription borne

by the stone was "*Erit domine nostre Regine Margarete dominium in refugium et lapis iste in signum*," meaning probably, as Mr. Searle suggests (p. 44), "The power of our Lady Queen Margaret shall be our refuge and this stone (laid in her name) the sign of her protection."

By this time the Collegiate plan had been fully developed. It followed the lines not of a monastery, but of the normal type of large country-house. In the case of Queens' College this resemblance to the accepted type of country-house is found both in the original buildings and in the additions soon afterwards made to them. The result is that the general plan of Queens' College bears a most striking likeness to the plan of a house such as Haddon Hall. This has been fully worked out, Willis and Clark, iii. Appendix.

Two contracts for the earliest buildings are still extant. The first of these contracts, dated April 14, 1448, the day before the laying of the stone, between the President and Fellows of the College on the one part, and John Veyse, draper, and Thomas Sturgeon, carpenter, of Elesnam (Elsenham), Essex, on the other part, is a contract binding these latter to put up the woodwork of part of the first Court for the sum of £100, to be paid in three instalments. They are to provide all the timber needful for the roof, the "midel-walles" (partitions), stairs and floors, and this timber is to be oak. The house is to be 240 ft. long and 20 ft. broad (Searle, pp. 38, 39). The building here provided for comprised the whole of the north and east and the eastern half of the south side of the first Court—i.e., the Library, the Chapel, the Great Gate and

three staircases containing rooms for Fellows and students. The length of these buildings, excluding the Gate, is rather more than 240 ft. The point on the south side where this work ended is still plainly discernible in the brickwork both inside the front Court and in Silver Street. As the last instalment of the money was to be paid to the contractors on Michaelmas day, it is clear that the building was expected to be finished by that date, and the work was certainly completed before the spring of the following year. On March 4, 1449, Henry VI. contributed £200 towards the cost of this building.

“It is shewed unto us by our welbeloved the President and Felowes of the College of Saint Margarete and Saint Bernard in our universite of Cambrigge, which is of the foundation of our most dere and best beloved wyfe the Quene, how that, for as much as the seid president and felowes have not wherwith to edifie the seid College in housing and other necessities but only of almesse of Cristes devout people therto putting theire hands and dedes meritorie, nor that the seid edification is not to be perfourmed at any wise withoute that the supportation of our moste noble and benygne grace be shedded unto them in this partie—we have yeven them CC^{li}.”

The second contract, between the same parties, dated March 6, 1449, binds Veyse and Sturgeon to find all the timber for the roof of the Hall for the sum of £80 (Searle, pp. 39–41). The money is to be paid “the fest of the nativite of our Lord next followyng.” The Hall is to be 50 ft. long and 22 ft. broad. The contract covers also “the rofes of botry [buttery] pantry and kechen with the flores to them longyng with all the

midil walles and grescs [stairs] to the said houses per-
teynyng." "The wich howses extenden in lenketh from
the hall into the hei way with a return of the chambers
ich of ham conteyning in lenketh xxv foote and in
brede xx." This "return of the chambers" is the
western portion of the south side of the Court.
It is further stipulated that all the timber "that
shall nede to the seides howses shall accord wyth the
other syde the wich is now redy framed next to the
freres"—*i.e.*, that the south side shall correspond with
the north side, which lay nearest to the property of the
Carmelites, had been included in the former contract
and was already built.

These indentures for the woodwork are the only
records remaining for the building of the front Court.
This Court (99 ft. E. to W., by 84 ft. N. to S.) was
completed before the Wars of the Roses broke out.

"It is of excellent architecture, in red brick, with a
noble gateway, flanked by octagonal turrets, and it has a
square tower at each external angle of the court. The
effect of these towers is greatly increased by the care with
which they are diminished upwards. The employment of
the towers is a peculiarity which offers presumptive
evidence that the architect of the other two royal colleges
of was King's and Eton employed to design the buildings
of this smaller foundation" (Willis and Clark, ii. p. 11).

From the imperishable nature of the materials used
this Court remains almost as it was when it was first
built. The only changes are that the cusps have been
scraped from the windows, that battlements have been
substituted for the eaves, which still existed at the time

when Loggan's print was made—about 1688—and that a wooden belfry has been erected above the entrance to the Chapel. "It is," says Mr. J. W. Clark, "the earliest remaining quadrangle in Cambridge that can claim attention for real architectural beauty and fitness of design." By an arrangement common in Collegiate buildings, the Chapel and Library occupied the north side of the Court, and the Hall, Buttery and Kitchen the west side, while the remaining sides contained rooms for the members of the College. The tower above the gateway formed the Treasury. The President was housed in the N.W. corner between the Library and the Hall. From the gable wall which finished the N. side of the building it appears that the original building did not include the Combination Room nor the President's Chamber over it. Otherwise the same roof would have been continued. As it is, there is a small space at the angle of the Court, in which there is a window from the Combination Room and another over it from the President's Lodgings. The buildings of this Court, except the Chapel and the Hall, are in two storeys with attics.

The Society must have been greatly helped in these buildings by a munificent gift of £220 from Marmaduke Lumley (Chancellor of the University 1427-28, Master of Trinity Hall, 1429, Bishop of Carlisle, 1429-50). Bishop Lumley was translated from Carlisle to Lincoln 1450 and died soon afterwards. If he is correctly described as "Lincoln. episcopus," his benefaction must belong to the year 1450.

The Chapel, which had a vestry in the N.E. corner and a tower in the N.W. corner, was licensed for Divine

Service by William Gray, Bishop of Ely, Dec. 12, 1454. He gives authority for the celebration of the divine offices "in Chapels and Oratories suitable and seemly, duly arranged for divine worship, situated within the College and the Hostel of St. Bernard," reserving the customary rights of the parish churches (Searle, p. 45, Cooper, "Ann.," i. p. 206). The authorities of a College were anxious to have a Chapel of their own as soon as it was possible: otherwise it was necessary that the younger students should be constantly escorted to the parish church. When a College was provided with its own Chapel, its younger members at this date seldom quitted the precincts, save when they were conducted by their seniors to attend the Schools.

The first addition made to the original buildings was the range along the river-front, which now forms the west side of the Cloister Court. The date of this building, which contained students' chambers, is about 1460. The ground floor is partly occupied by a cloister-walk 6 ft. wide. "This cloister consists of plain four-centered arches of brickwork, of three chamfered orders. The arches are fenced below by a low side-wall, with the exception of the central one, which is open to the grass" (Willis and Clark, ii. p. 14). The windows in this building correspond in style with those in the front Court, and this edifice with its cloister was completed before the side cloisters N. and S. were built. An examination of the cloisters makes this plain. The last arch of the cloisters on these two sides merely abuts against the arch of the W. building, and though the arcades N. and S. are of the same form as those on the W. side, they are in two orders only of chamfered bricks,

instead of in three like the W. side. It is conjectured that these two sides were added in 1495. There is no mention of a cloister (*claustrum*) in the accounts 1484–1494, but after that date the word is of frequent occurrence. And large quantities of lime and sand are bought for “the cloister” at this time (“Magn. Journ.,” i. 92). The Cloister Court thus completed is irregular in shape. The west side measures 75 ft. 9 in., the east side 66 ft., the north side 102 ft. 4 in., and the south side 79 ft. The Hall and Combination Room occupy the east side. The building on the west side was originally some 130 ft. in length, but some 25 ft. of the work was pulled down in 1756 to make way for Essex’s building (see chap. ix.). This was as far as the buildings had been carried at the time of Erasmus’ residence, 1511–15. The turret at the S.W. angle of the main building, which was included in the rooms occupied by the great scholar, is still commonly spoken of as Erasmus’ tower. Loggan’s view shows that the centre of the Cloister Court was originally a garden. One tree still remains in his time. There was a door leading from this Court into the lane between the College and the Carmelites. A key “for ye gate by ye Cloisters into ye freares” is mentioned several times in the accounts.

CHAPTER III

EARLY DAYS

" High potentates, and dames of royal birth
And mitred fathers in long order go :

* * * *

And Anjou's heroine, and the paler rose,
The rival of her crown and of her woes."—T. GRAY.

Presidents : Andrew Dokett, 1448-1484 ; Thomas Wilkynson,
1484-1505.

It would appear that Andrew Dokett kept the accounts of his College himself. The Bursar's book known as the "Magnum Journale" commences only after his death. Hence, at this time, when the growth of the College was marvellously rapid, the materials for its history are comparatively scanty. The record of these early days is little more than a recital of the benefactions by which the College was gradually established and enriched. To enter into the details of these gifts is beyond the scope of the present work. And to do so is the less necessary, in that Mr. Searle has gleaned all the information that can be obtained and embodied it in his first volume (p. 60 *ff*). Here we can only note very summarily the most important benefactors, with some few particulars where they are specially interesting.

To the personal interest of Queen Margaret in her



From a photograph by]

[F. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

GATE TOWER AND EAST FRONT



College may be ascribed the King's gift of £200 already mentioned. The Queen was an open-handed princess, and the fact that no record remains of any direct benefaction from her is probably to be explained by a cautious fear of making a parade of her patronage, when the tide of civil war flowed strongly in favour of the House of York. Many of Queen Margaret's friends appear among the earliest benefactors of the Society, and there can be no doubt that her influence was freely used in favour of the new College. As instances of persons closely connected with the Queen, who promoted the establishment of the College, may be mentioned Sir John Beaumont, Lord of Bardolf, her steward, Sir John Wenlock, her chamberlain, and Lady Margery Roos, a lady of the bedchamber, a munificent benefactress. Passing by the benefactions of Thomas Barrie, citizen of London (£100 in 1454), Richard Withermerch, gentleman (40 marks, 1458), William Lasby, clerk, Richard Andrewe or Spycer, burgess of Cambridge (who gave houses, &c., in the town, 1459, Cooper, "Ann.," i. p. 210), William Syday and John Marke, 1470, we may note that in 1459 the patronage of St. Botolph's Church was acquired by Queens' College for the sum of 80 marks from Corpus Christi College, who sold at the same time a small piece of ground in Smale Brigges Street, on which Andrew Dokett's almshouses first stood (Searle, pp. 66-68).

Edward IV. married Elizabeth Widville May 1, 1464. The new Queen, the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Widville and Jacquetta, duchess dowager of Bedford, had married Sir John Grey, afterwards Lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1453. An old manuscript at Drummond

Castle preserves some delightful extracts from her diary (see *Church Times*, Feb. 11, 1898), recording Elizabeth's meeting with her future husband.

"Ten o'clock. Went to dinner. John Grey, a most comely youth; but what is that to me? . . . John ate but little and stole many tender looks at me—said, women would never be handsome in his opinion, who were not good-tempered. I hope my temper is not bad, nobody finds fault with it but Roger, and he is the most disorderly man in the family. John Grey likes good teeth. My teeth are of a pretty good colour. I think my hair is as black as jet; and John, if I mistake not, is of the same opinion. Eleven o'clock. Rose from the table: the company all desirous of walking in the fields. John Grey would lift me over every stile, and twice squeezed my hand with great vehemence. I cannot say I should have any objection to John Grey; he plays at prison-bars as well as any of the country gentlemen: is remarkably dutiful to his parents, my lord and lady; and never misses church on Sundays. . . . Nine o'clock. The company fast asleep—these late hours very disagreeable. Said my prayers a second time—John Grey disturbed my thoughts too much the first time. Fell asleep and dreamed of John Grey."

Who could doubt the happiness of the marriage after this? "*Bona cum bona nubet alite virgo.*" But Elizabeth's words, "My hair is as black as jet," are somewhat disconcerting. Her pictures represent her as fair-haired, in contrast to the dark-haired Margaret of Anjou. And Hall's general description of her in his chronicle quite agrees with her portraits.

“She was a woman more of formal countenance than of excellent beauty, but yet of such beauty and favour, with her sober demeanour, lovely looking and feminine smiling (neither too wanton nor too humble), beside her tongue so eloquent and her wit so pregnant.”

However, this is a digression. Elizabeth had been a maid of honour to Queen Margaret. She received from the Queen, on her marriage, a portion of £200, and continued to attend as one of the ladies of the bed-chamber. Her husband commanded the Lancastrian horse at the second battle of St. Albans, Feb. 17, 1461, but was wounded, and died of his wounds Feb. 28. Elizabeth then lived in retirement at Grafton. But King Edward, who was negotiating at the time for the hand of Bona, daughter of Louis of Savoy, met her: “*capta ferum captorem cepit*,” and the Yorkist King took the Lancastrian lady as his Queen.

It may be assumed that Elizabeth’s personal connexion with Queen Margaret had made her fully acquainted with the foundation of Queens’ College, and that not improbably she knew Andrew Dokett. At all events, when it was suggested to her that she should complete her predecessor’s work, she willingly undertook the task. The MS. account of the foundation of the College already quoted gives a statement of the facts, which is probably more correct than the Latin in which it is contained.

“But because by the opposition of fortune and by the leave of God, the Queen in question [Margaret] so lost her high position that she could not finish what she had begun, hence Elizabeth, the Queen and wife of the most

illustrious King Edward IV., *as the true foundress by right of succession*, brought to completion what her predecessor had commenced but had not finished, put forth statutes and obtained many privileges from the King, *procurante semper eodem presidente Andrea Dokett, cuius iam opera manifesta sunt*" (see Searle, pp. 71, 72).

The activity of Dokett in obtaining the Queen's patronage is here plainly shown, and the words "as the true foundress by right of succession" are highly significant, as embodying a view of Elizabeth's position which was entertained both by the Queen and by her royal husband, and, indeed, if we are not mistaken, by the succeeding monarch, Richard III. For in King Edward's letters, March 5, 1473, granting permission to the Lady Joan Burgh to endow Queens' College, the College is described "as existing by the patronage of Elizabeth, Queen of England, our beloved consort"; and in Richard III.'s licence to the College, March 25, 1484, the wording runs, "Be it known to all that of our special grace (to the praise, glory and honour of Almighty God and of the most blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, and of saints Margaret Virgin and Bernard Confessor, besides to the 'singular contemplation' (*ad singularem contemplationem*) of Anne Queen of England, our most dearly loved consort, we have granted and given licence, &c., . . . to the President and Fellows of the Queens' College of saint Margaret and saint Bernard in our University of Cambridge, which exists by the foundation and patronage of our aforesaid consort," as if Anne also had "by right of succession" inherited the position of the two preceding Queens. It would be interesting to know

whether Andrew Dockett had succeeded in inculcating this most convenient view of the case, that the College was not so much the personal foundation of Queen Margaret as the special object of patronage *ex officio* of the Queens of England. If only the sentiment had held its ground throughout the course of history, what a great and wealthy foundation this would have been! Indeed, if only the College had been allowed to hold what it did hold on the day of Bosworth Field, it would perhaps have been superfluous to desire for it a continuance of royal patronage! It is stated (Cooper, "Mem.," i. 280) that in this same year, 1465, Elizabeth "appropriated a part of her income to the completion of this College." Yet there is no record of any gift from the second foundress, though she is commemorated with other members of the House of York, whose interest and liberality are very possibly to be ascribed to the Queen's good offices. In 1468 Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge, and saw for herself the progress her College had made (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 216).

The Lady Margery Roos, mentioned above as lady of the bedchamber to Queen Margaret, gave money wherewith were purchased the manors of Horsham Hall, Mone Hall, Cromes Hall and Hampsted Hall, together with land at Abbotslay, the whole property producing an income sufficient to endow five priest Fellows, who were to pray for the soul of Lady Margery and her two husbands, with a stipend of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) apiece, that being the regular dividend of a Fellow at the time. Horsham Hall was purchased October 5, 1469, which gives us the date of the benefaction. Lady Margery also presented the Chapel with plate,

vestments and books. In her will (Searle, p. 73) she directs that she should be buried in the Chapel, "in the choir on the north side under her window of St. Margaret and St. Bernard." A Fellowship, with similar conditions attached to it, was founded soon afterwards by Dame Alice Wyche, and on March 5, 1473, the King allowed Lady Joan Burgh to give to the College the manor of St. Nicholas Court, Thanet, then of the yearly value of 13 marks (Searle, pp. 81-83). To the following year, 1474, belongs a curious document which illustrates one method of procuring funds adopted by Andrew Dokett.

"This endenture made betwene maister Andrew Docket president of the Quenes college in the universite of Cambridge and the fellowship of the same college on the one partie, and Robert Rocheford grocer and Robert Carvell mercer, citizens of London, on that other partie witnesseth: that the seid president and fellowship have receyved the day of the date of these presentes [March 3rd, 1474] of the seid Robert and Robert for the soule of Edmund Carvell, late citizen and grocer of London now dede, XX^{li} sterling to thentent that the seid Edmond shall be taken and receyved as benefactour of the forseid college and to be made partener of all the suffrages masses and alle other merytory dedes that shall be seid and doon w'tynne the same college for other benefactours of the same, And also that the soule of the same Edmond shall be remembered among other benefactours of the same college atte Dirige and masse of Requiem to be seyde for them wons in every year w'tynne the same college. . . ."

Poor William Sautre, the first victim of the Statute of 1401, had maintained that it was more pleasing to God

to spend money on the poor than on pilgrimages. But the "Supplication of Beggars" was not written until 1528, and even then no less enlightened a person than Sir Thomas More wrote the "Supplication of Souls" in reply.

The first Statutes, which continued in force till 1529, were given "for the founding and establishing of the College" by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, March 10, 1475, "at the humble petition and special requisition of Andrew Dokett the first president" and by the advice of the royal counsellors assembled for that purpose. The preamble states that

"the duties of our royal prerogative require, piety suggests, natural reason demands that we should be specially solicitous concerning those matters whereby the safety of souls and the public good are promoted, and poor scholars, desirous of advancing themselves in the knowledge of letters, are assisted in their need."

The foundation is enlarged from a President and four Fellows to a President and twelve Fellows, and they are all to be in priest's orders. A Fellow upon election is to devote himself to philosophy or to theology. On becoming a master of arts he may teach in the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) for three years at a fixed salary from the College. Teaching is optional, provided that the Fellow devotes himself to liberal sciences or to the philosophy of Aristotle.

"On the completion of these three years, if a Fellow should have no desire to study theology or to proceed in

that faculty, he is permitted to turn his attention to either the canon or the civil law; but this can only be by the consent of the Master and the majority of the Fellows, and the concessive character of the clause would incline us to infer that such a course would be the exception rather than the rule" (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," i. p. 317).

To this year 1475 belongs the purchase of the land W. of the river narrated in a previous chapter.

No member of the reigning House showed such princely generosity to the College as Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. On April 10, 1477, the King permits his brother to grant to the President and Fellows of Queens' College the manor and advowson of Foulmire, Cambridgeshire, to found four Fellowships with stipends of £8 per annum for priests, who were to be called the four priests of the Duke of Gloucester's foundation, and were to "pray satisfactorie for the prosperuse astates of Richard the sayde duke of Gloucet' and dame Anne his wife" and for their issue, for the royal family, &c., and for the souls of the Duke's father and of his friends slain "at Bernett Tukysbery or at any other feldes or jorneyes, and for all cristen soulis" (Searle, pp. 89-92).

Fellowships were founded by John Collinson, Archdeacon of Northampton, 1478, by John Grene, Esquire, 1479, and John Alfray, of Ipswich, 1481; in 1483 Thomas Duffield, D.D., late Fellow, left a bequest to provide "*unam lampadem ardentem coram summo altari infra capellam collegii.*" All these gifts were coupled with the condition that prayers should be offered for the donors and their friends.

Archbishop Rotherham, Chancellor of the University, held the Great Seal at the death of Edward IV. But when the Duke of Gloucester was made Protector the Archbishop was committed to the Tower, "because he had espoused the cause of the Queen Dowager, [then in sanctuary at Westminster]." The University hereupon petitioned the Protector for their Chancellor, emboldened thereto by "his bountiful and gracious charity"—"founding certyn Prestys and Fellows to the grete worship of God, and to the encrease of Cristes faith, in the Qwenys College of Cambrigge." And again the following year, in acknowledging the benefaction of Richard, now King, the University specially mention that he "has lately liberally and devoutly founded exhibition for four Priests in the Queens' College. And now also the most serene Quene Anne, Consort of the same Lord the King (that most pious King consenting and greatly favouring) has augmented and endowed the same college with great rents" (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 225 and 228). This mention of it on March 16, 1484, shows that this latter gift was intended and announced before it was actually made. On March 25, 1484, the King allows the College to hold property in mortmain to the annual value of 700 marks (Searle, pp. 95-97), and on July 5 at the request of his Queen-consort he grants "to the Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard, which exists by the foundation and patronage of our aforesaid consort," the manor of Covesgrave (Cosgrove), Northamptonshire, his lands and rents in Sheldingthorp (Skellingthorp), Market Deeping, Barham (Barholme) and Stowe, Lincolnshire, the manors of Newton, Suffolk, Stanford, Berkshire, and Buckby, Northamptonshire,

with £60 per annum from the fee farm of the town of Aylesbury and £50 from the fee farm of the fair of St. Ives (Searle, pp. 98, 99). Fuller is no doubt right in counting this as one of the acts whereby "King Richard endeavoured to render himself popular. First by making good Laws in that sole Parliament kept in his Reign. . . . Next he endeavoured to work himself into their goodwill, by erecting and endowing of Religious Houses; so to plausibelize himself, especially among the Clergy. . . . He is said also to have given to Queens College in Cambridge five hundred marks of yearly rent; though at this time, I believe, the College receives as little benefit by the Grant, as Richard had right to grant it. For, it was not issued out of his own purse, but given out of the lands of his enemy, the unjustly proscribed Earl of Oxford; who being restored by Henry the Seventh, made a resumption thereof" ("Church Hist.," iv. 6, 7). But the estates were not all the property of the Earl of Oxford; some of them belonged to Anne, Countess of Warwick, the Queen's mother, whose property was taken from her and given to her daughter by authority of Parliament.

However, whatever were the King's motives, and whatever were his rights in the matter, this grant brought the College little good. They held the land only for one year, and received only one half-year's rent—Michaelmas 1484 to Easter 1485. The sum received amounted to £132 17s. 10d., but from this must be deducted expenses connected with the gift, amounting to £68 12s. 3½d. (Searle, pp. 110–111). For many years the yearly income of the College did not exceed £200, so that these estates would have more

than doubled its annual revenue. Fuller may be quoted again :

“As for King Richard the third, his benefaction made more noise than brought profit therewith . . . which soon after was justly resumed by King Henry the seventh and restored to the right owner thereof. The Colledge no whit grieving thereat, as sensible no endowment can be comfortable, which consists not with Equity and Honour” (“Univ. of Camb.,” v. 35).

Gifts of Richard III., which remained longer in the hands of the presentees, were vestments for use in the Chapel and his badge of the boar's head, which is still used by the College.

Andrew Dokett died November 4, 1484. By his will, dated two days earlier, he leaves to the College 40s. per annum from his Hostel of St. Bernard, to maintain the Chapel services, the remainder of the income from the Hostel to be held by his executors for life, on their death the Hostel to become the property of Queens' College. Similarly, the house at the corner near St. Botolph's Church is to be sold, and the proceeds invested in land, pastures or tenements ; the income is to be applied at the discretion of his executors “*pro salute anime mee, Reginaldi Ely et omnium benefactorum*,” and on the death of the executors this property also passes to the College. The three houses in which three poor women reside (*i.e.*, the earliest Almshouses, then in Small Bridge Street) are to be managed by his executors, and afterwards by the College. To this disposition the condition is attached that his exsequies should be celebrated on the anniversary with the exsequies of

all the benefactors in the College Chapel : the President is to receive 3*s.* 4*d.*, each Fellow 1*s.*, and a distribution is to be made among the poor, especially the poor of St. Botolph's parish, to the sum of 20*s.* He further bequeaths to the College his garden "in front of the gates of the College, near the house of Mr. Duffyld"; the residue of his goods he leaves to his executors, John Rypplyngham and William Thurkylle (Searle, pp. 56-58). Dokett had been spared to govern his foundation during the most critical period of its existence. Its prosperity was largely, perhaps almost wholly, due to his personal exertions and to the wisdom wherewith he had shaped its course through the stormy years of war and revolution. He had commenced with four Fellows : the number of Fellows was now seventeen ; the buildings were practically completed, and the College was not inadequately endowed. He was *felix opportunitate mortis*, in that he passed from the scene of his labours just when the College had been enriched by the splendid endowment received from Richard III., and when there could have been no suspicion that the half-year in which he died would be the only period for which an income would be received from these estates. His will directed that he should be buried "*in choro capelle collegii predicti ubi lecte sunt lectiones.*"

"He is buried" [writes Cole about 1777] "in the chapel of his own college under a gravestone of grey marble, exactly in the middle, in the antechapel under the step as you ascend into the Choir. . . . He is in a Doctor's Habit, but being continually trod on twice a day, as People go into the chapel, it is no wonder that the

strokes are worn away and that it is now almost a plain smooth piece of brass."

In his will he had written, "I desire and, so far as lieth in me, I enjoin all the Fellows of the said College that they elect to be President of the said College as my successor Mr. Thomas Wilkynson." This person, so strongly recommended for election, had probably been a Fellow of Queens', as his name is associated in a deed of 1480 with John Rypplingham and Ralph Songar, who were Fellows. He held at this time the sinecure rectory of Harrow-on-the-Hill and the rectory of Orpington, Kent, and resided sometimes at one, sometimes at the other of these places. There are entries in the accounts giving the expenses incurred in going to the President at "Harwe" or "Horpington," and so far as appears, Mr. Wilkynson only came to Cambridge when his presence was required there for elections to Fellowships, for the audit and for Stourbridge Fair. As the Statutes of 1475 prescribe the election of a President on the eighth day after the vacancy, Thomas Wilkynson was probably elected November 11, 1484.

The executors named in Docket's will declined the office, and letters of administration were granted by Dr. Tuppyn, the Vice-Chancellor, to Mr. Wilkynson, the President, and the Fellows of the College, April 23, 1485 (Searle, p. 58).

When the battle of Bosworth Field gave the crown to Henry VII., the short-lived prosperity which Queens' College had enjoyed from the gifts of Richard III. ended abruptly. The estates seem to have reverted at once to their original owners. The Earl of Oxford was

restored by Henry's first Parliament, November 1485; the Act of Parliament which had deprived the Countess of Warwick was annulled in 1487, when the Countess conveyed her property to the King, so that in a double sense "these gifts were resumed by King Henry VII." The result of this resumption was to reduce the number of Fellowships from seventeen to thirteen. But, happily, fresh endowments soon came. A Fellowship was founded in 1491 by the Lady Joan Ingaldesthorpe, cousin of Lady Margery Roos, who gave the manor of Great Eversden for the endowment of a priest, to sing and pray for the soul of Lady Joan and her friends, with a salary of 10 marks. A Fellow of the College was also to be presented to the rectory of St. Andrew's, Canterbury, a privilege lost at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Dr. John Drewell, Canon of St. Paul's, who died in 1494, had given lands in Abbotsley, Haslingfield and Pampisford, worth £24 a year, for the maintenance of two Fellows and a Bible-clerk. The executor of Dr. Drewell's will, William Wilde, also a Canon of St. Paul's, was likewise a benefactor to the College (Searle, pp. 119-123).

The building of the N. and S. sides of the Cloisters belongs probably to the year 1495. (See p. 23.)

Henry VII. honoured Cambridge with many visits. "His Grace was honourably receyvede both of the Universitie and of the towne" March 12, 1486 (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 232). He came again April 1487, and apparently in 1491 (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 240) and 1497 (*ibid.* 249). In 1498 the King and Queen were in Cambridge on September 1, on their way from Lynn to Huntingdon, and visited Queens' College, for there appears in the Bur-

sar's accounts for the year the entry : "*in expensis adventus regis et regine, ut patet per billam. . . . V^a ob.*" (Searle, p. 123).

In 1502 the College received from Hugh Trotter, D.D., Treasurer of York Minster, formerly Fellow, a sum of £253 6s. 8d., with which an estate was purchased at Fulbourn. In the following year, February 11, 1503, the Queen-consort, Elizabeth of York, died. She was the first of the four Queens, since the foundation of the College, who had not claimed the position of patroness, nor did she, so far as is known, promote the prosperity of the College. Yet she must have felt that she had rights in connexion with the College, for there remains the fragment of a mandate from her, with her autograph in the margin, for the election of a person named Billington to be "scoler" (Searle, p. 124).

The Presidentship was resigned by Mr. Wilkynson in April 1505. In the records is a letter dated April 12, between two entries of March 18 and May 7, 1505, which clearly refers to an announcement of his resignation :

"Ryght reverent and worschypfull and to us att all tymys most syngular and specyall good mast^r, Wee yo^r scolars and dayly beedmen humblie recomend us unto yo^r mast^rschyp And for as mysch as we underston be y^e lett^{rs} of the moste excellent p^rnces, my lady the kyngs mother [the Lady Margaret], and allso by y^r lett^{rs} that ye be at this tyme myndyt to resigne the p^rsidentship of this our colage called the qweny's colage, so that ye myght knowe our mynds in this thing, wherefor we write unto yower mast^rship at this tyme signifying unto you y^t we ar fully det^rminate and doth promise you to elect such as

is thoght unto you necessary and profitable unto this our colage, the lorde bisshop of Rochest' [John Fisher]. In witness wherof we have sett to o' comon seale, besechyng you to contynew goode maistre to the same colage and to all us: and wee shall daiely pray for the long and prosperus contynuance of your helth to the plesour of God, who preserve yowe. Frome Cambrige in haste the XIJth daye of Apr'll."

Wilkynson became Prebendary of Ripon in June 1511, died December 13, 1511, and was buried at Orpington, where is his monument, a slab with a figure of a priest in brass, habited in a plain cope.

We may note, before leaving his time, that the curious covenant of May 12, 1503, between the University and the Town (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 260-270) is signed by "the Mancipil of the Queens Colledge." It is signed also, among others, by the Manciples of Pembroke, St. Mary's, and other Hostels, by the "Barber of Peterhouse," "the Conduct of the King's Colledge," "the Launder of the King's Colledge," "the Mason of the University," and "the Baker of the King's Hall." The happy result of this covenant was that the scholars and the townsmen "lyved at better peace to the great benefitt of themselves and the whole realm besides."





From a photograph by]

[J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

ERASMUS' TOWER AND SOUTH SIDE OF CLOISTERS

CHAPTER IV

THE DAYS OF FISHER AND ERASMUS

" For the first time men opened their eyes and saw."

Presidents: John Fisher, 1505-1509; Robert Bekensaw, 1508-1519; John Jenyn, 1519-1525; Thomas Ffarman, 1525-1526 (?); William Frankelyn, 1526 (?)-1528.

At the Renaissance the world woke from the slumber of the Middle Ages. Were there ever crowded into a half-century events so striking as those which mark the fifty years which end with the discovery of the New World? The Invention of Printing had made the popular diffusion of knowledge possible, and books soon were brought within the reach of ordinary men. When More wrote the "Utopia" (1518) the travels of Amerigo Vespucci were "in everybody's hands." The capture of Constantinople by the Turks had driven Greek scholars to Italy and opened new fields of science and literature to the minds of Western Christendom. Florence, which was already "the home of freedom and of art," now became the scene of a great revival of letters. And then suddenly a New World was added to the Old World. All the preconceived ideas of the Middle Ages were broken down. The intelligence, the interest, the curiosity of men were strangely stirred and quickened.

And the movement soon crossed the Alps and reached England. It assumed a form characteristic of the national mind in becoming, if less literary, more religious, more serious, more practical. John Colet is perhaps its best type and exponent. Archbishop Warham is its wise and generous patron. Erasmus is its most brilliant and fascinating embodiment. Nowhere was the result of the "New Birth" more quickening than at the Universities. Erasmus* (Epist., ii. 10) describes what Cambridge had been and what it had now become.

"Scarcely thirty years ago nothing was taught here but Alexander, the *Parva Logicalia* as they call them, antiquated exercises from Aristotle, and the *Quaestiones* of Scotus. In process of time better studies were added, a knowledge of mathematics, a new, at any rate a renovated, Aristotle, and a knowledge of Greek literature. . . . What has been the result to your University? The University has so flourished that it can compete with the best Universities of the age."

And when in the same decade Bishop Fisher, one of the foremost and most influential supporters of the movement, was President and Erasmus abode here to teach Greek, surely Queens' College might claim to be the *focus et ara* of the Renaissance in England!

John Fisher, son of a well-to-do mercer at Beverley, entered Michael House, graduated 1487, was soon elected Fellow, proceeded M.A. 1491, was Senior Proctor 1494 and was elected Master of Michael House 1497. As Proctor he was sent to the Court at Greenwich and there presented to the King's mother, the

* The references are to the edition of Flesher & Young, London 1642.

Lady Margaret (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," i. 434). He became her confessor in 1497, and already the foundation of the Lady Margaret's Readerships at the Universities seems to have been mooted. In 1501 Fisher, now D.D., was elected Vice-Chancellor, and in 1503, when the Lady Margaret's Readership was formally endowed and instituted, was elected the first Professor. The endowment was £13 6s. 8d., a large sum judged by the ordinary salaries of the time. The Professor was to read in the Divinity Schools, *libere, sollemniter et aperte*, to every one resorting there, without fee or reward other than his salary, such works in Divinity as the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor with "the college of doctors" shall judge necessary, for an hour, namely from seven till eight in the morning, or at such other time as the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor shall think fit. He was to read every accustomed day in term and in the Long Vacation up to September 7, but to cease in Lent, if the Chancellor thought fit, in order that during that season he and his auditors might be occupied in preaching.* In case the Reader be elected Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, he was to lose the Readership within a month (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 271, 272). As Fisher was Vice-Chancellor, he resigned at the beginning of the new academic year, and Cosin, Master of Corpus, was appointed in his stead.

In the following year, 1504, Fisher was elected Chancellor of the University and appointed Bishop of Rochester. This promotion, given at an early age to a

* On the object of this clause, and of the Lady Margaret's Preachership, viz., to revive pulpit oratory, see Mr. Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," i. 437 ff.

man who neither solicited nor expected it, might be attributed to the influence of the Lady Margaret. But the Bishop's own statement (Lewis, "Life of Fisher," ii. 270) is conclusive that the promotion came unsought from the King himself. Fisher was now in a position of great authority, and his influence was used in behalf of his own University. To his representations to his patroness it is clearly due that her attention was drawn to Cambridge and the stream of her munificence directed to the foundation of Christ's and St. John's. He had resigned the Mastership of Michael House, to which John Fotehede was elected in 1505, and resided mainly at Rochester. But the plans of the Countess of Richmond made him anxious to have an abode in Cambridge, and Thomas Wilkynson, who, as we have seen, was generally non-resident, resigned the Presidentship of Queens' College with the double purpose of enabling the Chancellor to have a Cambridge residence and of securing for his College so distinguished a Head. Fuller's account ("Church Hist.," v. 33) is this:

"He was Chaplain and Confessour to the Lady Margaret, Comtesse of Richmond, at whose instance and by whose advise, She founded and endowed Christ's and S. John's Colledge in Cambridge. Employed in building of the latter (her posthume Colledge of S. John's), and effectually advancing that work, he wanted the accomodation of a convenient Lodging, when Dr. Thomas Wilkinson, President of Queens Colledge, opportunely departed this life: and that Society requested Bishop Fisher to succeed in his place, which he gratefully accepted, faithfully discharged, and thereby had the advantage to finish his new Colledge in the lesse time, to his greater contentment."

Thomas Wilkynson had not "departed this life," but had resigned (he lived till 1511), and St. John's was not founded till 1511. But Christ's was founded in 1505, and Bishop Fisher was probably anxious to be in Cambridge to superintend its progress. He was elected to the Presidentship before May 7, 1505. The Lady Margaret visited Cambridge this same year, doubtless in connexion with her new foundation. She was "received with the honour due to so eminent and munificent a benefactress, the University proceeding as far as Caxton to meet her" (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 275). That she stayed in Queens' College appears from the accounts, where there are entries of preparations for her arrival and for washing of linen used *cum mater regis intererat collegio nostro* (Searle, p. 134). Again on April 22, 1506, the Countess of Richmond was in Cambridge, on this occasion accompanied by the King. They were received outside the town by the Mayor and the Sheriff, then by

"the four Ordres of Freres and aftir odir Religious . . . and then ther stode all along all the Graduatts, aftir their Degrees, in all their Habbitts, and at the end of them was the Unyversyte Cross, wher was a Forme and a Cushin &c as accustomed, where the King dyd alight, and there the Bysshopp of Rochestre, Doctor Fisher, then beyng Chaunceller of the Unyversyte, accompanied with odir Doctors, sensyd [sprinkled with incense] the Kyng, and aftir made a litle Proposition and welcomed hym; and then the Kyng took his Horse ageyn and rood by the Blackfriars [the site of Emmanuel], thoroughe the Towne, to the Queens Colledge, wher hys Grace was at that time lodgged" (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 281).

"The little Proposition"—*i.e.*, the Latin Oration of the Chancellor—has been preserved and is analysed by Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," i. 449-451).

Mr. Mullinger (*ibid.* 452) thinks that Erasmus may have followed in the royal train on this occasion. Desiderius Erasmus (*b.* 1467, *d.* 1536) had visited England in 1497 at the invitation of his pupil William Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He was now intimate with Bishop Fisher, and among his friends was Richard Whitford, Fellow of Queens', to whom he dedicates his edition of Lucian's "Tyrannicida" in this year. He came to Cambridge in 1506, when a grace was passed allowing him to commence D.D. His stay on this occasion was not of long duration. But he writes from the neighbourhood of Cambridge, Nov. 1, 1507 (Epist., vi. 9). For the next two years he was mainly in Italy, returned to England on the news of Henry VIII.'s accession 1509, and, taking up his residence in Cambridge 1510, remained with his headquarters in this College for perhaps four years.*

"Queens Colledge" (says Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," v. 39) "accounteth it no small credit thereunto, that Erasmus (who no doubt might have pickt and chose what House he pleased) preferred this for the place of his study for some years in Cambridge. Either invited thither with the fame of the learning and love of his friend Bishop Fisher then Master thereof, or allured with the situation of this Colledge so neer the River (as Rotterdam his native place to the Sea) with pleasant walks thereabouts."

The latter and more poetical reason is as delightful as

* In Westdeutsche Zeitschrift IX. (Trier, 1896) Max Reich makes Erasmus' Cambridge residence only two years and a half. See p. 151 ff.

it is characteristic of Fuller. The influence of Bishop Fisher was no doubt a main factor in determining Erasmus' choice of a College, though Fisher had resigned the Presidentship before Erasmus came into residence. But it may be added that at least one other member of the Society, Whitford, was already reckoned among his intimates, that others, such as Bullock and Fawne, were soon among his close friends, that the College contained men of mark who played a prominent part in Cambridge and in the great movements of the day, also that at the time, if we may judge from the valuation of 1534 (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 370), King's was the only College which enjoyed a larger revenue, and that by the proctorial cycle of 1514 King's, Queens' and Christ's are given most nominations. There remains the larger question why Erasmus selected Cambridge in preference to Oxford, where he had made so many friends, More, Colet, Linacre, Grocyn, William Latimer, in 1498, and which would have gladly welcomed him back again; to Paris, his own *alma mater*; to Louvain, then rising into high repute; or to one of the Italian Universities. He liked Italy, but he disliked the tendency of Italian learning. It was too sceptical, too pagan, and jarred upon Erasmus' deeper feelings. Louvain and Paris he seems to have thought too exclusively theological. From Oxford many of his best friends had gone, and thus the place had lost much of its attraction for him. But perhaps the main reason why he did not return there was the scanty encouragement held out to a Greek scholar. The University was strongly anti-Greek, and the "Trojan" riots (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," i. 524; Fuller,

"Univ. of Camb.," vi. 39), which soon afterwards agitated Oxford, showed how wise was the decision of Erasmus that at the moment the most promising field for Greek scholarship was Cambridge, under the protection of the all-powerful Fisher.

Andrew Pascall, Fellow of Queens' and Rector of Chedsey, Somersetshire, 1652-1663, gives in the year 1680 an account of the residence of Erasmus (Searle, p. 153, Willis and Clark, ii. p. 15).

"The staires which rise up to his studie at Queen's College in Cambr. doe bring first into two of the fairest chambers in the ancient building; in one of these, which looked into the hall and the chief court, the Vice-President kept in my time; in that adjoyning, it was my fortune to be when fellow. The chambers over are good lodgeing rooms; and to one of them is a square turret adjoyning, in the upper part of which is the study of Erasmus; and over it leads. To that belongs the best prospect about the Colledge, viz., upon the river, into the corne-fields, and country adjoyning. So y^t it might very well consist with the civility of the House to that great man (who was no fellow, and I think stayed not long there) to let him have that study. His sleeping roome might be either the Vice-President's, or to be neer to him, the next. The room for his servitor that above it, and through it he might goe to that studie, which for the height, and neatnesse, and prospect, might easily take his phancy."

I am not sure that, if I understand him aright, Pascall is correct in his details. In any case the popular notion, perhaps springing from the name "Erasmus' tower," that Erasmus occupied only the tower, is quite erroneous. Equally misleading are descriptions that represent the

great scholar as "toiling in his garret at Queens.'" To Erasmus was allotted what was probably the best and most spacious suite of apartments in the College. He was better housed than the President himself had been before 1510. He occupied the whole of the space on the right-hand side of the passage which leads to the turret-rooms. Below there were two large rooms, above there was another spacious chamber; and the little turret-room known as "Erasmus' oratory" was in all probability occupied by his servant, the "servitor" of Pascall's account. And Pascall calls the rooms "good lodging-rooms," and himself as a Fellow had occupied only a part of the suite assigned to Erasmus. Another common notion, viz., that Erasmus was poor, has been sufficiently disposed of by Mr. Mullinger.

"With ordinary prudence, his income must have more than sufficed for his wants; he received from his Professorship over thirteen pounds annually; he had been presented by Warham to the rectory of Aldington in Kent, and, though non-resident, he drew from thence an income of twenty pounds, to which the Archbishop, with his usual liberality, added another twenty from his own purse. To these sums we must add an annual pension of a hundred florins from Fisher, and a second pension, which he still continued to receive, from his generous friend, Lord Mountjoy. His total income, therefore, could scarcely have been less than £700 in English money of the present day" ("Univ. of Camb.," i. 504).

Few members of the University at the time could have been in receipt of anything like the same amount. But Erasmus was not economical, and he liked the best

of everything. When a man has his servant and his horse, is able to move about freely, can secure all the books he needs and is surrounded by a host of open-handed friends, the references he makes to lack of money need not be taken too seriously: they only mean that Erasmus could have managed to spend more.

In view of the gibe of Gibbon that Erasmus learnt at Oxford the Greek which he taught at Cambridge, it may be worth while to point out that the serious study of that language, with which his fame is inseparably connected, was only commenced by Erasmus after he had said farewell to Oxford. He knew some Greek before: but it was when he left Oxford that he devoted himself to the study. At that time he writes, "I have applied my whole soul to Greek, and as soon as I get money I will buy first Greek books and then clothes." Again, six years later he tells Colet (Epist., x. 8) that he has been working hard at Greek and "found that he could do nothing in literature without a knowledge of Greek." The period between his visit to Oxford and his residence at Cambridge may be described as the time spent in accumulating those stores of scholarship, which he afterwards turned to such splendid account, and his own description of himself as *αὐτοδίδακτος* should prevent any misconception as to the source of his attainments.

Thus equipped the great scholar took up his abode in Queens' College and embarked upon the task of teaching Greek. In the October term of 1511 he was lecturing on the Grammar of Chrysoloras (the Greek scholar who had been so successful at Florence), but his

class was small. He hopes to have a larger audience when he takes the larger Grammar of Theodorus Gaza (published 1495). In the same letter, addressed to his good friend, Andreas Ammonius of Lucca, who was Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and collector of Papal dues in England, he says, "Perhaps I shall also undertake a lecture in Theology, for the question is now under discussion" (Epist., viii. 3). In this matter his hopes were not disappointed, for he was elected the Lady Margaret's Reader in this year, and, as at the expiry of his two years he was re-elected, he continued to hold the post for the whole period of his residence, and was succeeded by his friend Dr. Fawne of Queens'—the *Phaunus* of his letters. It is clear that Erasmus was disappointed with the results of his teaching. He did not attract the numbers nor see the success for which he had hoped. But he was as easily depressed as he was easily elated. He was sanguine and despondent by turns, with as little reason often in the one case as the other. Whatever he may have thought at the time, he left his mark behind him in Cambridge. His friends and pupils are men of great note in the next few years. Among them may be instanced, besides Fawne and Bullock already mentioned, Bryan and Aldrich of King's, the latter of whom accompanied him on his famous journey to "our Lady of Walsingham"; Watson, afterwards Master of Christ's, and Sampson of Trinity Hall, the future Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. And posterity may be thankful that his success in the lecture-room was not sufficient to keep him from his study. Fruitful and lasting as the effect of his teaching may be thought to have been, in reality

it sinks into insignificance, when it is compared in importance with the literary work done in these years. It was here that he composed his edition of St. Jerome, dedicated to Archbishop Warham, which taught the age to estimate at its true value the Theology of the Middle Ages, and led men back again to the true path of Biblical criticism. St. Jerome, and not St. Augustine, was *theologorum princeps*. Erasmus speaks out in the preface of this work with no uncertain voice :

“Synods, decrees and even councils are not in my judgment the best methods of repressing error, unless indeed truth depends solely upon authority. . . . The Christian faith was never so pure and undefiled as when a single Creed was thought to be enough and that the shortest Creed we have.”

And still more important, nay incalculably important, was his famous edition of the New Testament, known as *Novum Instrumentum*. The marvellous effect of the work was less due to the fact that it upset the veneration with which the Vulgate was regarded, as a final authority in questions of text, and led men back to the Greek original, than to the method which it inculcated and exemplified. Interpretation was based upon the literal meaning of the text. Men were recalled to the historical value of the New Testament. Drs. Westcott and Hort have made familiar to many the noble passage in which Erasmus enforces his views :

“These books give you back the living image of the sacred mind of Christ, they present Christ in His own person speaking, healing, dying, rising again, in a word

they so give the whole presence of Christ that you would see Him less clearly, if you beheld Him face to face with your eyes."

In words quoted from Professor Brewer by Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," i. 510):

"the New Testament of Erasmus must be regarded as the foundation of that new school of teaching on which Anglican theology professes exclusively to rest; as such it is not only the type of its class, but the most direct enunciation of that Protestant principle which, from that time until this, has found expression in various forms: 'The Bible alone is the religion of Protestants.' Whatever can be read therein or proved thereby, is binding upon all men; what cannot, is not to be required of any man as an article of his faith, either by societies or individuals. Who sees not that the authority of the Church was displaced and the sufficiency of all men individually to read and interpret for themselves was thus asserted by the New Testament of Erasmus?"

Even more significant, if we consider the date at which the words were written and the views taken on the appearance of Tyndale's version even by Bishop Fisher himself, is the eloquent passage in his preface, in which Erasmus pleads for a free circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular:

"I entirely differ from those who are unwilling that the sacred Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by the unlearned, as though Christ taught such subtleties that they can with difficulty be understood by a very few theologians, or as though the strength of the Christian religion lay in men's ignorance of it. It may be

better to conceal the state mysteries of kings, but Christ would have His mysteries published abroad as widely as possible. I could wish that even women read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages of all people, that they might be read and understood not only by the Scotch and the Irish but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandmen may sing portions of them as he follows the plough, that the weaver may chant them at his shuttle, that the traveller may with their narratives while away the weariness of the way."

With this great work ready for publication Erasmus quitted England in 1515. He returned in the next year, when the *Novum Instrumentum* had been published, but does not seem to have come back to Cambridge. His friend Bullock — *Bovillus* — writes to tell him (Epist., ii. 9) how glad all his Cambridge friends are at his return :

"they are busy working at Greek, they long ardently for his advent amongst them once more, they are highly pleased with his edition of the New Testament, polished, subtle, delightful and essential to every one who has any taste."

But he did not come back. He wandered about, mainly in the Netherlands, till 1521, when he settled down in Basel, and henceforward the story of his career, which closed in sadness and depression there in 1536, is beyond the scope of the present history.

But there is a letter (Epist., viii. 16) written from Queens' College to Ammonius — *ex collegio Reginae* August 25, 1511—which is so often quoted that it would be considered an unpardonable omission if no reference

were made to it, for it is known to thousands of people, who probably are not acquainted with any other detail of the illustrious scholar's life in Cambridge. I mean of course the letter which is supposed to reflect on the "College ale."

"As to myself [he writes] I have so far no news to give you except that my journey [from London down to Cambridge] was most tiresome, and that my health is still rather doubtful from the heat into which the journey threw me. I think that I shall stay in this College at least for a time. I have not yet begun to lecture: I wish to recruit my health first."

Then comes the well-known sentence, "*Cervisia huius loci mihi nullo modo placet nec admodum satisfaciunt vina; si possis efficere, ut uter aliquis vini Graecanici, quantum potest optimi, huc deportetur, plane bearis Erasmum tuum, sed quod alienum sit a dulcedine.*" It is not incumbent upon the most loyal member of the College to defend the quality of the "College ale" at this distance of time. "Many things have happened since then." And even had it been proper to enter the lists otherwise, the last vestige of necessity was removed when the College ceased to brew its own ale. But it is only fair to the memory of the brewer of the day to point out that there is no exclusive reference to the liquor made by him. What Erasmus says is *cervisia huius loci*, and the disparagement is of Cambridge ale in general. And, after all, what Erasmus really wants to do is to show cause why his good-natured friend should send him a cask of Greek wine, and why it should be of the best possible quality. Probably, however good he

had thought the Cambridge *cervisia*, the Greek wine would have been asked for all the same: its alleged unsuitability to Erasmus' palate enables the request to be made with a better show of reason. But if he could have foreseen how often the words would be misquoted and misused against him, would he not have given some other reason, or even none at all?

This account of the residence of Erasmus, brief as it is, has taken the narrative beyond some events of interest in the history of the College. In June 1508 Bishop Fisher resigned the Headship of the College. There are letters extant which bear upon the subject. Two are addressed by the Fellows to the President, a third to the Lady Margaret, who was evidently aware of the Bishop's intention and had interested herself in the choice of his successor. The Fellows write to their President that they are not so much surprised as grieved at his intention of resigning. They assure him of their admiration and their grateful sense that they can have no President like him. He had alleged his inability to reside as a reason for resigning: they point out that many other Masters do not reside, and that they do not expect it of him, and ask him to reconsider his decision. Then, on learning that his mind is fully made up, they write again to express their sense of loss, and ask him to nominate his successor. The Bishop nominates Dr. Robert Bekensaw, Fellow of Michael House and almoner to the Lady Margaret, and his election is notified by the Fellows to the Lady Margaret, to Bishop Fisher and to Bekensaw himself. The date is apparently July 6, 1508. The letters are printed in full (Searle, pp. 137-141). But though Bishop Fisher ceased to be President,

and though much of his attention was soon given to the Lady Margaret's second foundation, St. John's College, the College over which he had presided, still enjoyed his wise protection and his kindly care. To the end of his life Fisher remained Chancellor of the University, and never had there been a Chancellor to whom more gratitude was due, or of whom Cambridge had more reason to be proud. Erasmus ascribes to the Chancellor's influence the peace and progress of the University. To him Cambridge was indebted for the quiet introduction of Greek. To his influence the foundation of the Lady Margaret's Readership and Preachership was due, and his wisdom may be traced in the wise regulations which governed those foundations. It is hardly too much to call him the founder of Christ's and St. John's, for in all that the Lady Margaret did we see the hand of Fisher. In the words of the Fellows of his College, *poteris vivacitate ingenii, perspicacitate consilii ad haec et auctoritate tua, plus unus efficere quam alii bis mille*. His attainments, his virtues, his blameless character unite to make him indeed a remarkable man. And when he boldly confronted the haughty Wolsey and fearlessly championed the cause of Queen Catharine against the angry King, he acted worthily of himself and finally crowned a noble and holy life by a not less noble death, as with his New Testament opened at the words "This is eternal life, to know Thee the only true God," he knelt to await the axe of the executioner.

His predecessor, Thomas Wilkynson, had held the Headship without endowment. But Bishop Fisher and his immediate successors received £3 6s. 8d. from the College, half the stipend of a Fellow, a sum apparently

considered sufficient to defray their expenses while resident in Cambridge for elections and the like. It will be observed that Bekensaw, like Wilkynson and Fisher, was non-resident. This not only explains the smallness of the allowance made by the College to its Head, but is significant of the view taken at the time of the functions of a Master. A College was anxious to secure as its Head a man of position and authority. Fame in the the Church, influence at Court, weight in the State were probably the qualities principally desired. When later on a different view prevailed, viz., that it was desirable to have a resident Master, the emoluments of the office were increased and the Master's lodgings enlarged. Meanwhile a set of rooms served to accommodate the Master for such time as he was in residence, and a small sum was deemed sufficient to reimburse him for any expense to which he was put. But the view that the Headship of a College was a post to be held in conjunction with high ecclesiastical office prevailed long after Fisher's time. The annals of Pembroke College afford an obvious instance. In that *Collegium episcopale* the Headship was retained by Bishop Fox at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Bishop Ridley in the middle of the century, and by the saintly Bishop Andrewes at its close.

Dr. Bekensaw at the time of his election was already Vicar of Croston and at Court in attendance on the Lady Margaret. He became in 1512 Rector of Bradwell-super-Mare, Essex, and Canon of Windsor. Besides other offices afterwards held by him, he was Chaplain and almoner to Catharine of Aragon and received from her the Deanery of Stoke-by-Clare in 1517 (Searle,

p. 145). He was President for more than ten years, residing mainly at Windsor and later at Stoke, but coming to Cambridge when his presence was required for elections and for the audit.

The President was originally lodged in the two rooms above the Combination-room—*i.e.*, in the President's study and the bedroom over that, now called, from its first occupant, Andrew Docket's room. A spiral staircase, which has now been brought into use again, conducted him from the Hall and Combination-room to his apartment, at the N.W. corner of which there was a small study. A door in the E. wall gave access to the Library and through it to the Chapel. The President was thus admirably situated. He was "enabled to survey the whole College or to approach any one of the principal buildings without crossing the court" (Willis and Clark, ii. 23).

Part of the block on the W. side of the Cloisters, built 1460, had been used as public apartments. This part included the rooms which are now the servants' hall, the Audit-room, or dining-room, and the drawing-room of the Lodge, though originally the suite was not divided quite as it is at present. Access was gained to these rooms by the staircase at the N.E. angle and the suite was probably entered by the recess in the present drawing-room. In this suite was a room known as the "large room" (*magna camera*) and the "queen's room" (*camera reginae*), which apparently are the same. "The Queen's room" is prepared for Henry VII. in 1506, "the large room" for Catherine of Aragon in 1521 and for Cardinal Wolsey in 1520.

When Bekensaw was elected President there was no

connexion between the then President's lodgings on the E. side and these reception-rooms on the W. side. But during his tenure of the Mastership the first of the steps was taken by which the two blocks were joined and the present Lodge formed. The first step was the construction of a "gallery." In the accounts for 1510 and the following years there are entries of payments "for cleaning the President's chamber, the gallery [le galere] and the queen's room," "for repairing the gallery, the cloister, and the Master's chamber," "for rushes laid down in the chamber and gallery." These entries show that "a gallery" had been already built, and it could not have been the present gallery, since in 1515-16 there is a payment for repairing the lead roof on the N. side of the cloister (*super plumbum claustrum in parte boreali*), which shows that the N. side had not yet been crowned by a gallery. Further, this "gallery" must have been in communication with the rooms occupied by the President, and, as the "gallery" was not over the N. side of the cloisters, the only possible position for it is the N.E. corner—i.e., the old study of the Lodge. It was an upper storey of wood supported on brick walls. The N. wall has been greatly altered, but the thick walls on E. and W. are almost without doubt the foundation of the old "gallery" (see Willis and Clark, ii. 36). By entries in the accounts it is possible to trace approximately the subsequent steps in the building. In 1533 a great deal of work was done in the President's quarters. There are two payments "*pro ly casting of ledde pro deambulatorio presidentis*," and "*pro ly leddis super deambulatorium presidentis*." In the same year both the "gallery" or *deambulatorium*—i.e.,

the old Study—and the bedroom were wainscoted and hangings were purchased for the President's chamber. When the wall was purchased from the Carmelites (see chap. i.), a clause was inserted in the agreement, by which the Friars bind themselves not to block the lights of "three or four windows," which the College had decided to make "on the N. side of a certain ambulatory called ly Galeri, adjacent to the demesne of the foresaid Carmelites" (Searle, p. 194), and the accounts show that these windows were at once constructed.

But in 1560 there are entries of payments for "constructing the Master's upper chambers" (*le sheddes ad edificanda superiora cubicula magistri*). Willis and Clark (ii. 34) note that the payments are all for wood-work; there are no payments to tilers or plumbers. The inference is that there was no change in the roof and that all that was done was a re-arrangement of the upper storey. In other words, the gallery itself, which was not built in 1516, had been erected in 1560. The panel-work is a little later. "We are left to conclude, from the evidence afforded by the style, that it [the panel-work] is that mentioned in the will of Dr. Humphrey Tindall (President 1579–1614); and, from the terms employed, the cost appears to have been defrayed partly by subscription, partly by donations, which will explain the absence of all allusion to it in the Bursar's accounts:

"'Item. I give to the President and Fellows of Queens College in Cambridge, to my successors' use, all the seeling and wainscoting of my chambers and lodging I have which (I take) amounteth to two hundred and fifty pounds or thereabouts more than I have received from the college or any other benefactors towards the same."

"The conclusion to which the extracts we have collected leads is that the present gallery was erected at some period between 1516 and 1541, but probably not before 1537" (Willis and Clark, ii. 35).

The materials purchased from the Carmelites were in all probability used in the construction of the gallery, and this also would make the date some time soon after 1537.

This famous Gallery, one of the most beautiful and interesting buildings in Cambridge, is in two storeys, eighty feet long and twelve wide. It is constructed of timber, overhangs the cloister, and is supported by carved brackets which spring from the cloister walls. It is noteworthy that the positions of the brackets do not correspond with the arches of the cloister—a proof that the Gallery is of later date.

Loggan's plan—an enlargement of which is given by Willis and Clark, ii. 32—shows that originally the appearance of the Gallery was even more picturesque than it is at present. The oriels facing the cloisters were originally carried up higher. That in the centre and the two at either end of the Gallery "were carried above the roof in the form of turrets surmounted by a receding storey, a conical roof and lofty vanes of rich ironwork. The two intermediate oriels were carried up only as far as the eaves and had gables above" (Willis and Clark, ii. 30).

When by the construction of the Gallery a junction had been made between the rooms on the E. and those on the W. sides of the cloisters, the public reception-rooms on the W. side were incorporated into the President's Lodge. The name "Audit-room," still

applied to the Lodge dining-room, is a survival of the time when the room was not yet part of the Lodge and still preserves the memory of its old public character. The Audit-dinner was actually held in this room until about twenty years ago. It will be observed that the extension of the Lodge which has been described coincides in date with the altered conception taken of the duties of the Head of a College. His constant residence was now desired to supervise the foundation over which he presided. When the bedrooms over the Gallery had been made in 1560, an ample residence was provided for the housing of a President and his family. It is clear that the limited accommodation considered adequate for the occasional residence of the earlier Presidents, and even for the constant residence of a bachelor President in pre-Reformation days, would soon have to be enlarged, when religious changes made it necessary to contemplate the permanent residence of a President and his family. Dr. Heynes (President 1529-1538) was married, and his widow married his successor, Dr. Mey.

To return to the events of Dr. Bekensaw's time, it may be noted that the pavement in front of and within the College was put down in 1515. It was still customary for poor scholars to perform menial work. Thus "four poor scholars are paid 16*d.* for two days work in cleaning the outer and inner courts." Another poor scholar receives 6*d.* "for cleaning the Court and cloister of the College." And service of this sort was still very common. If a poor student was unable to pay for his lodging and his tuition, it was quite customary for him to give an equivalent in service, to

wait at table, to run errands—in fact, to act as a servant generally. A Rede lecturer has recently reminded the University that a poor student sometimes begged, and that the practice became so common that it was found necessary for the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, or the Commissary of the University to examine into the merits of each case and grant a certificate, if he thought that the applicant should be allowed to solicit the alms of the charitable (see Cooper, “Ann.,” i. 245 and 343).

Bekensaw resigned his office about March 1519. No reason is given for his resignation, and he lived till 1526. His successor, John Jenyn, was the first President who had been educated at the College. He had gone through a round of College offices till 1509, when he was appointed by Thomas Wilkynson, Rector of Harrow and ex-President, to the Vicarage of Harrow-on-the-Hill, which was in his gift as Rector. Jenyn had kept up his connexion with the College, and in March 1519 he was elected President. It devolved upon him to receive Cardinal Wolsey when he visited the University in 1520. The Chapel and Cloisters were whitewashed and “the great chamber” was prepared for his reception. And from the accounts it appears that His Eminence was feasted on swans (Searle, p. 162). Henry Bullock, the friend of Erasmus, delivered an oration before the Cardinal on this occasion (Cooper, “Ann.,” i. 303). Early in the next year Jenyn was honoured by a visit from Catharine of Aragon, who stayed three days. Soon afterwards the Queen recommended John Lambert for election to a Fellowship. The College declined to accede to this request. They state in their letter to the

Queen (Searle, p. 165) that they had asked his friends whether they would vouch for Lambert's learning, but "they wold not depose for hym." They then proposed that he should be brought to be examined by them, "but he wold not." They finally offered to give him

"an honest chamber and X markes for one year and hys lernyng, and yf they myght perceyve i the meane tyme that he wer virtuous and like to be lernyd that thene they wil elect and chose him felaw, as yo^r g^rce wold heve theym to do: but all theys offers and mocyons hys father ofte tymes have refused."

However, John Lambert seems in the end to have been elected, and his name appears on the books for a short time. He was burnt at Smithfield for denying the Real Presence in 1538.

In 1522 "bluff King Hal" himself was housed in the College. Swans were given to His Majesty and "fresh fish" was bought to regale him. Swans and fish were likewise a part of the present given by the University (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 305). In the next year a comedy of Plautus was performed by members of the College, as appears from the accounts (Searle, p. 167).

But after all these glories the mastership of John Jenyn came to a most inglorious end. He became involved in a dispute with the Fellows about the allowances which he claimed for his scholar, his horses, his fuel and his bills. His misconduct was represented by the Fellows to "the most reverend lord cardinal and the counsellors of the most illustrious queen many times,"

and in the end John Jenyn was removed or driven to resign. The details of the squabble become clear from the composition made between the Fellows and Simon Heynes after his election in January 1529. It is thereby agreed that the President shall have his commons during residence, the commons of one servant to keep his chamber at all times, the commons of a second servant only during residence. These allowances are to be taken in full compensation for all charges to which the President is put in finding servants "to ride with hym *in causis collegii*," and he is to "take no other allowance of the College for his said two servaunts' wages, but only the commens of oon servant besid his scolar [another "poor scholar," see p. 63] that kepith his chamber, and that when he is present." The other articles are that the President shall be "content to have three horssees founde when he lith at this college," otherwise he shall provide for his horses himself; that he shall pay for firewood, candles and rushes, like the Fellows; that, when he comes to Cambridge, the cost of providing for his duty shall be borne by himself; that, when he goes on College business, he shall return the items of his expenses, "not exceding a reasonable sum by the daye," and that such expenses shall be allowed only when he goes on College business by the advice and consent of the Fellows. In all these matters the President henceforth is, in short, not to do what John Jenyn had done. Happily the peace was made between Jenyn and the Fellows, and Jenyn visited the College on several occasions after he had ceased to be President (Searle, p. 169). Two very short masterships followed—those of Thomas Ffarman and William Frankelyn. Ffarman

had been a Fellow for twelve or thirteen years, had held several College offices, became D.D. in 1524, and in 1525 was instituted to the rectory of All Hallows, Honey Lane, London, on the presentation of the Grocers' Company. With Ffarman the beginnings of the Reformation are reached. He was one of the band of men who used to meet at the White Horse Inn, in Trumpington Street, "to confer and discourse for edification in Christian knowledge." The nominal president of this coterie was the Augustinian Prior, Barnes, but Bilney was the leading spirit of the gatherings, which were attended by Crome, Shaxton and Skip from Gonville Hall, Rogers and Thixtill from Pembroke, Frith from King's, Taverner from Corpus, and, perhaps, as Mr. Mullinger suggests ("Univ. of Camb.," i. 573), by the future Archbishop, Matthew Parker. The Queens' contingent consisted of Ffarman, Lambert, destined to a martyr's death, and Heynes, whose happy lot it was to aid in compiling the first English Liturgy. There was a back entrance into the White Horse from Milne Street, which afforded an unobserved way of approach to the members of Colleges like King's and Queens'. It may be that the influence of Erasmus should be traced in the fact that his College contributed so large a quota to these meetings in the White Horse—"Germany," as the place came to be called, because the "Germans" who resorted thither occupied themselves with Luther's writings. Dr. Ffarman is coupled by Fuller ("Univ. of Camb.," vi. 33) with Stafford and Thixtill as the chief advancers of the Protestant religion. As the chief opponents he names Henry Bullock, the friend of Erasmus already mentioned, and, *mirabile dictu*, Hugh

Latimer, who had not yet been "converted" by Bilney, but "exhorted the scholars not to believe one word of what Mr. Stafford did read or preach," also the Vice-Chancellor Nateres, with the Heads of Colleges generally. In the same passage Fuller states of Dr. Ffarman that "he concealed and preserved Luther's works sought for to be burnt." This was when Wolsey sent to make search for Lutheran books and to bring Prior Barnes to London (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," i. 578). In March 1528 Ffarman was suspended by the Bishop of London, Tunstall, for having Lutheran books in his possession, but he died in the autumn of the same year. It is clear that he was zealous in spreading the Reformed teaching: his curate Thomas Garret, who was subsequently martyred, spread the works of the Reformers in Oxford, and his servant, Geoffry Usher, is recorded as "purchasing Tyndale's New Testaments and other Lutheran books" (Searle, p. 173).* His successor, William Frankelyn, was a member of King's College, Chancellor and Archdeacon of Durham. He was engaged in affairs of state treating for peace with Scotland, in war also, as he recovered Nørham Castle from the Scots. He became Dean of Windsor in 1536, but was forced to resign the

* Mr. Searle is here followed in the view that Ffarman was really President. It is possible that he was only Vice-President acting as President during the vacancy. But he was in office so long as to make this view difficult to hold. He is mentioned as President several times during the years 1526 and 1527 (Searle, p. 173). The date at which he ceased to be President, and whether he ceased by death or resignation is also not clear. On the whole, all that can be said with certainty is that the interval between John Jenyn and Simon Heynes is divided between Thomas Ffarman and William Frankelyn. Probably we shall not be far wrong in assigning them Presidentships of something like eighteen months apiece.

Deanery at the end of 1553. He was President for about eighteen months, but "hardly any notices of him are to be found in the College books" (Searle, p. 177). With the election of Simon Heynes in the beginning of the year 1529 the period of the Reformation may be said to be fully entered upon.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE

“ No Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;
But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,
So, under him, that great supremacy,
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand.”

Shakespeare, K. J. iii. 1.

Presidents: Simon Heynes, 1529-37; William Mey, 1537-53; William Glynn, 1553-57; Thomas Pecocke, 1557-59; William Mey (*iterum*), 1559-60.

IN the days of storm and stress which followed, it may be set down to the credit no less than the good fortune of Queens' College that those who were appointed to govern the foundation were men of conspicuous ability. To Dr. Heynes and Dr. Mey must be given a high place among the worthies who controlled the course of the Reformation movement and helped to establish the Church of England upon the *via media* between the two extremes, into one or other of which she might so easily have been dragged. Dr. Glynn is hardly less distinguished upon the Romish side than his predecessors had been on the side of Reformation.

Mr. Pecocke is less conspicuous, no doubt, but at least there is nothing serious recorded to his discredit at a

[F. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

GALLERY AND NORTH SIDE OF CLOISTERS

From a photograph by]





time when few men's characters escaped unscathed, and he had hardly been given time to show of what stuff he was made, when by the Act of Uniformity Dr. Mey was restored, though, like his successor, the Royalist Dr. Martin, a century later, he did not live long to enjoy his recovered honours.

But, high as Heynes and Mey stand, as men of weight and ability without whose advice and assistance hardly a single measure of the Reformation process was undertaken, the College had a still more illustrious son. As scholar, statesman and Churchman, equally eminent in all three spheres, Sir Thomas Smith, who was elected Fellow in January 1530, a year after Simon Heynes became President, combined titles to fame which are not often met with in the same person. His rise into repute was singularly rapid. He had no sooner taken his M.A. degree than he was appointed Greek Professor. In 1538 he was made Public Orator. In 1540 he was appointed the first Regius Professor of Civil Law. In 1543 he was elected Vice-Chancellor, and, though soon afterwards he became Clerk to the Queen's Council, his residence continued, and he was able to render the University many signal services. In many ways Sir Thomas Smith is an excellent type of the best men of the Elizabethan period, and may claim a high rank even among the giants of those stirring days. No period of its history was so critical for the University as the sixteenth century. Its possessions were repeatedly in danger, its very existence was threatened at times. Its prosperity suffered sorely from the religious changes and the general unsettlement of the times. Its members dwindled and its efficiency

was terribly impaired. Yet in the end the University survived all these vicissitudes, and in reputation, wealth and numbers reached, in "the spacious days of great Elizabeth," a point it had never touched before. And for this happy result Cambridge is mainly indebted to the labours of four great men, who, after the death of the great Chancellor, Bishop Fisher, in different ways and at different times during the period guided the destinies and watched over the fortunes of the University—viz., Archbishop Parker, Sir Thomas Smith, Lord Burghley and Archbishop Whitgift. And if to these great names a fifth be added, it would be the name of Dr. Perne. Perne was not formed of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and his supposed vacillations have gained him a dubious notoriety, like that enjoyed by the Vicar of Bray.* Yet his services to the University admit of no dispute. It may be doubted whether throughout these troubled times any man served Cambridge more wisely, more ungrudgingly and more effectually than Andrew Perne. And a member of Queens' may, without incurring blame for self-complacency, point with legitimate pride to the fact that of these men no less than three, Smith, Whitgift and Perne, belonged in some sense to the College. And, even if other foundations claim a share in the merits of Whitgift and of Perne, no other College can dispute with Queens' the possession of Sir Thomas Smith. And that is a proud possession, for, in Strype's words (quoted by Searle, p. 241):

* It was from his name that the University wits of the time coined the verb *perno*, *pernare*, which meant, they said, "to change often."

"His oratory and learning intermixed was so admirable, and beyond the common strain, that Queens' College carried away the glory for eloquence from all the Colleges besides, and was rendered so famous by this her scholar, that it had like to have changed her name from Queens' to Smith's College.

" ' *Unius eloquio sic iam Reginea tecta
Florebant, quasi quae vellent Smithea vocari.
Sic reliquos inter socios caput extulit unus.* "

"As Gabriel Harvey, Smith's townsman, and one who knew him well, writes upon his death."

And the names of his contemporaries alone would show that Sir Thomas Smith was not a Triton among the minnows, but *primus inter pares* in a Society, which Mr. Mullinger, himself a member of St. John's, reckons as second only to his own College "among the Cambridge foundations of this period, when estimated by its services to learning" ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 45).

Thomas Smith was a native of Saffron Walden. He seems to have been at the outset poor and friendless. In terms of glowing gratitude he records himself, in his Second Oration as Professor of Civil Law, the kindness and encouragement he had received from Sir William Butts, formerly Fellow of Gonville Hall, physician to the King, the Dr. Butts of Shakespeare's "King Henry VIII.":

"I was still little more than a boy," he says, "I had no hope of friends, I was desperate from my poverty and helplessness and already meditated abandoning the University and letters, when, on account of a report he had heard of a disputation of mine in the schools, he summoned me to him, quite untrained and unpolished as I was,

entirely unknown to him, and, so far as I can learn, recommended by no one to him : he bade me not to despair, and like a father rather than a patron and friend from that day forth gave me every help and encouragement."

The passage, quoted by Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 45), does equal credit to the discernment of the patron and the gratitude of his protégé. Smith, of Queens', and Cheke, of St. John's, afterwards Sir John Cheke, were the two most promising students of the day. They were rivals in proficiency, but they were close personal friends. When the Regius Professorships were founded, in 1540, Smith took the chair of Civil Law and left the Greek chair for his friend Cheke. The names of the two friends are linked together in their famous reform of Greek pronunciation and the curious controversy to which it gave rise. There had been great changes in the pronunciation of Greek, as of Latin, but while the changes in Latin pronunciation were marked by corresponding changes in spelling, Greek remained in form as it had been in the days of the Attic Orators. At the time of the Renaissance students had accepted without doubt or inquiry the pronunciation they heard from the exiled Greek scholars who were their teachers. The discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation was first noticed by the acute Erasmus, who advocated a reform in his dialogue—*De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*—in 1528. However, the difficulty noted by Erasmus was discovered independently by Smith and Cheke. While they were busy discussing the matter together, a copy of Erasmus' dialogue came into their hands.

They then agreed that the pronunciation of Greek ought to be reformed, and Smith, perhaps as the bolder of the two, undertook to introduce the change in such a way as to avoid exciting alarm or hostility by too violent a break with existing methods. Accordingly he gave no notice of his intentions to his class, but introduced, as it were by accident, in his lecture a word now and then pronounced in accordance with the new method. This, says Strype,

“He did for this end, that if his auditors utterly refused his words thus pronounced, then he reckoned he ought to defer his purpose for some longer time ; and accordingly so he intended to do ; but if they received them with a good will, then he would the more speedily go on with his innovation. But behold the issue ! At first no notice was taken of it ; but when he did it oftener, they began to observe, and listen more attentively. And when Smith had often inculcated η and α as E and OI, they, who three years before had heard him sound them frequently uncorrectly after the old way, could not think it was a lapse of his tongue, but suspected something else, and laughed at the unusual sounds. He again, as though his tongue had slipped, would sometimes correct himself, and say the word again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, and, as appeared every day, the corrected sounds flowed from him more and more, some of his friends came to him and told him what they noted in his lectures. Smith now cared not to dissemble, but owned then he had been thinking of something privately, but that it was not yet enough digested and prepared for the public. They, on the other hand, prayed him not to conceal it from them, but to tell it them without any grudging. Whereupon he promised he would. Upon this rumour many came

together, and repaired to him; whom he required only to hear his reasons, and to have patience with him three or four days at most, until the sounds, by use, were made more trite to their ears, and the prejudice of novelty more worn off. And so by little and little he explained to them the whole reason of the sounds" (Life of Sir T. Smith).*

The reform thus initiated by Smith was followed by other teachers of Greek in the University: in his own words, "all who were thought to have any ability pronounced in that method." But when Cheke had succeeded Smith, and there appeared to be no longer any fear of opposition in Cambridge, suddenly there came a most unexpected check. Bishop Gardiner, now Chancellor, peremptorily ordered a return to the old pronunciation (May 1542). The arguments alike of Smith, who assumed full responsibility for the change, and of Cheke fell upon deaf ears. There was considerable opposition to the Chancellor's decrees, but repeated orders and vigorous measures on his part gained him the victory for a time. Then with the accession of Elizabeth "the new method" came in again, and the pronunciation of Erasmus was generally followed, until in turn it was superseded by the system still in use. The history of the controversy is given in full by Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 54-62).

Meantime Smith had been at Padua, the great seat of the study of Civil Law, the better to prepare himself for the duties of his new Professorship. He heard

* This account of Strype's is based on Smith's own version in his treatise "*De recta et emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione*," written in 1542 to Bishop Gardiner in defence of what he had done, *vide infra*. See also Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vi. 7-8.

there the most famous authorities of the day. He was admitted to the degree of doctor of Civil Law, and returned to England after an absence of more than a year at the end of 1541. The whole system of studying law had been reformed by the influence of Alciati. But Civil Law was in danger of being drawn into a common ruin with the Canon Law, now abolished. Further, the increasing importance of the Common Law, and the contempt entertained by its practitioners for a study which demanded time and labour and offered little reward, likewise jeopardised the position of Civil Law as a branch of learning. However, in Bishop Gardiner Civil Law had a powerful protector. To the desire to have an eminent professor, whose fame and ability would recommend the study, may be ascribed the appointment of a man of Smith's unrivalled reputation to the new chair. He delivered two introductory lectures, which are highly interesting and characteristic. He did not expect to meet with any enthusiasm for the study which it now became his duty to promote. So he sought to disarm hostility by the story of his own experiences. He had himself, he says, entertained so profound a dislike for law, that, when he was appointed professor, he repeatedly prayed that, if law should continue to be as burdensome and hateful as he then thought it, he might be released from his position by a speedy death. But happily his feelings had changed, and distaste had given place to an eagerness to commence his duties. He was grieved that he could no longer continue his Greek lectures, and he was apprehensive that he could win no approbation from such students of Civil Law as delighted only in technicalities.

But such were mistaken in their view. The study of law required all the aid of classical learning. He himself had made the range of his reading as wide as possible, and without a knowledge of the ancient writers on medicine and philosophy, the orators and the poets, there were any number of passages in the Pandects which could not be understood. It would be a mistake to suppose that his study of law was a new thing. He had pursued it vigorously since he became a Master of Arts ; he had recently visited the French Universities and heard the greatest of the Italian professors. He had at least acquired their methods. Then he informed his audience of the course he proposed to adopt, and asked them to give him their best attention, and to devote adequate time to the subject. The second lecture, delivered the next day, dilates upon the benefits to be derived from the study. Many had gone forth from Cambridge, who, by devoting themselves to Civil Law, had rendered the highest services to the State. Such were Gardiner, Thirlby and Butts. The King himself, who was so liberal in promoting learning, complained that good lawyers were few. To the theologian the study was indispensable. And, though the ordinary English lawyer was most inadequately trained, he showed a shrewd mother-wit and a dialectical skill worthy of all praise. The English student had a great advantage, because of the purity and precision of his mother-tongue. Nothing could be of greater interest than legal studies when properly pursued ; the greatest scholars had enriched and enlarged their command of language by studying the Digest (Baker, MSS. xxxvii.; Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 129-132).

Two years later (1543-44) Thomas Smith was Vice-Chancellor. To his tenure of the office belongs the Statute for the matriculation and registration of students. Previously the Head of the College had administered an oath to every student above fourteen years of age, by which he bound himself to preserve the interests of the University, to keep the peace, and obey the authorities. But by the Statute of 1544 it was required that the student should give the Registrary his name, his tutor's name, and his College, and that, if he was of mature age, he should bind himself by the following oath, on which, it will be seen, the Declaration now made at matriculation has been based :

"The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, so far forth as is lawful and right, and according to the rank in which I shall be, as long as I shall dwell in this republic, I will courteously obey. The laws, statutes, approved customs and privileges of the university, as much as in me is, I will observe. The advancement of piety and good letters, and the state honour and dignity of this university I will maintain as long as I live, and with my suffrage and counsel, asked and unasked, will defend. So help me God and the Holy Gospels of God" (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 413).

The name of Sir Thomas Smith will appear again in connexion with various events in which he played a part. Meanwhile it is time to return to the history of the College as a whole, during the period under consideration. On the vacancy caused by the resignation of William Frankelyn, in January 1529, Simon Heynes, who had been a Fellow since 1516, but had recently

been presented to the Rectory of Barrow, Suffolk, was elected eighth President. Heynes had been the chief agent of the College in the complaints preferred against Dr. Jenyn. That the agreement made between Heynes and the College, as described in the last chapter, pledging Heynes not to do what Jenyn had done, was not due to any want of confidence in the integrity of the new President appears from the extraordinary powers conferred by the Fellows on this Master by an order of the following month, February 1529. These powers enable him by virtue of his office to lease or set forth to farm all such lands belonging to the College as he should think convenient, for as many years, at such fines and with such covenants as he should think proper; and also to fix such fines for copyhold lands as he should deem fit, and to sell such woods as he should judge desirable, provided that the said President read the indentures to the Society before they were sealed. They give him power likewise to make bargains for lands to be purchased for the College, to order all repairs, and in general they commit to him the making of all bargains and covenants for the College, and the allowing or disallowing of all bills, promising to ratify and approve whatever he shall do in these matters. This agreement is signed by the President and eight Fellows. It is important to note that these large powers are given only "to the President now being," *i.e.*, the powers are restricted to Mr. Heynes, and are clearly intended as an exceptional measure to place the affairs of the College on a better footing. In exercise of the authority thus conferred, the President, in 1530, sold the College estate at Gilden Morden, and in 1534 the

estates given by the Lady Alicia Wyche in Holbeach, Whaplode and Muldon, in Lincolnshire. In 1535 he sold to Benet (*i.e.*, Corpus Christi) College, St. Bernard's Hostel, of which William Sowode was then Master, for one hundred marks. This sale seems to have been part of a transaction between the two Colleges for mutual accommodation: for about the same time Benet College sold to Queens' part of the ground on which its Alms-houses stood in Silver Street. The general plan pursued was to get rid of property which had been a source of loss to the College. Thus, in consequence of heavy repairs, the property in the town left by William Syday had been unproductive and the stipend of his Fellow paid out of other revenue. The property was now (1529) sold for £80 and land bought producing £4 *per annum*, and the *socius sacerdos* changed to a *socius non sacerdos*. This was done by the authorisation of Pope Clement VII., who confirmed the Statutes in this year. This confirmation by the Pope was rather an expensive luxury. "For the diploma of the Lord Pope Clement for the confirmation of the Statutes" there was paid £3 6s. 8d., and there are items for calf-skin, parchment, books, copying, and the like, which amount to another £3 10s. (Searle, pp. 188, 189).

In 1530 Henry VIII. had caught at Cranmer's suggestion that the validity of his marriage with Catharine should be submitted to the Universities. No steps were left untried to secure a verdict favourable to the King's wishes. The University of Cambridge was directed to send a decision under the common seal, and the King hinted very plainly what that decision ought to be. Opinions were greatly divided, and it was plain that a

decision in the sense desired by the King would not be easily obtained. Accordingly Stephen Gardiner, Master of Trinity Hall, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, the King's Secretary, and Edward Fox, Provost of King's, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, Almoner to the King, were sent to secure a favourable decision from the University. After some negotiations the matter was referred to a syndicate of twenty-nine, with the proviso that the decision of the majority should be regarded as the decision of the University. The royal envoys reported proceedings to the King. They sent him a list of the twenty-nine delegates, marking those who were known to be favourable with the letter A. Simon Heynes was one of the delegates, and he is duly marked A. (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 337-339).

Heynes proceeded D.D. in 1531 and held the office of Vice-Chancellor for the two years 1532-1534. His tenure of office was eventful. In his first year he was called upon to attest Archbishop Cranmer's dissolution of the King's marriage with Catharine of Aragon. In the next academical year, after a curious riot about the election of Proctors (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 362), he went to Court to procure from the King the confirmation of the privileges of the University, and was sent back to preach against the authority of the Pope and in support of the royal supremacy. The formal declaration of the University (May 2, 1534), that the Pope had "no greater authority or jurisdiction over this kingdom of England granted him by God than any other foreign bishop," was probably sent to the King by the hands of the Vice-Chancellor.

In the same year, 1534, was passed the Act of

Parliament which gave to the Crown the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical property. In consequence of this Act all ecclesiastical property was valued by commissioners. In the survey of the diocese of Ely the valuation of the Colleges is given. The wealthiest College is King's, valued at £751, St. John's comes next at £507, and Queens' stands third on the list at £230. This Act pressed heavily upon the University, and at Queens' the number of Fellows in orders was reduced from twelve to ten. The tenths were to be paid by the College, the first fruits by the incoming Fellow. Mr. Searle quotes the College order, p. 191, which affirms that "the house cannot sustain the old accustomed number of priest fellows and scholars with other charges and also pay the said tenth part." Thomas Cromwell was now Chancellor of the University. His earliest connexion with Cambridge dates no further back than 1532, when he had done good service in securing the privileges of the University against the town, and on Lord Mountjoy's death he had been elected Lord High Steward. His grim note, made months before the Bishop's death, "Item: when Master Fisher shall to his execution," illustrates his relentless policy. It is also a curious instance of the rapid changes which were taking place, that Cromwell succeeded his victim as Chancellor. "The University made Cromwell Chancellor to save itself" (see also Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vi. 53). In 1535 came the Royal Injunctions to the University. Homage to the Crown replaced homage to Rome. The Canon Law was suppressed. Professors were to teach the Old and New Testament according to the true sense thereof, and

students were allowed to study the Bible in private. The Colleges were to institute daily lectures in Latin and Greek, to put aside the scholastic interpreters of Aristotle, and to use instead more recent and reasonable expositors. At the same time Cromwell, as the King's deputy, became Visitor of the University. But Cromwell, too busy to discharge the office in person, in turn appointed a deputy, the notorious Dr. Thomas Legh (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vi. 55). The University and Colleges were directed before the Feast of the Purification (February 2, 1536) to deliver their respective

"charters of foundation, donation or appropriation, statutes, constitutions, pontifical bulls, and other diplomas and papistical muniments, with a full rental of their immoveable property and a true inventory of their moveable goods into the hands of Master Thomas Cromwell, or of his deputy for the purpose, to await his good pleasure."

Accordingly the Papal authority was renounced and the King's supremacy acknowledged, and all charters and statutes, with the rental of lands and the inventory of goods, were sent to the Visitor. No doubt this was a severe test to the University's powers of submission. And lest the loyalty of the Universities should be tried too far, in 1536 a most important concession was made in their favour—viz., the remission of the tenths and first fruits, which in 1534 had been appropriated to the Crown. The agents of the University of Cambridge in securing this Bill were the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Crayford, formerly Fellow of Queens', and the senior Proctor, Ralph Ainsworth, of Peterhouse.

To the Mastership of Dr. Heynes belongs the visit to

Cambridge of Alexander Alane, the Scotch Reformer, in 1534. He came by invitation of Cranmer and Cromwell: he held the status of "King's scholar" and his office was to lecture on the Scriptures, with the purpose of teaching his hearers the theology of the German Reformers. He joined Queens' College, and was delighted with his surroundings—*habui iucundissimum sodalitiū in collegio Reginæ* is his own expression. But he could not get his money from Cromwell, his teaching was not acceptable to his auditors, and, finding that the Vice-Chancellor (Crayford) sided with his opponents, he quitted the University for London.

In 1537 a dispute between the College and the Carmelites ended, as narrated in chapter i., in the purchase of the boundary wall by the College. Dr. Heynes was now increasingly employed on royal business. He had been sent in 1535 to try to bring Melancthon to England. He became Canon of Windsor and Rector of Fulham, and shortly before he was made Dean of Exeter, on the deprivation of Reginald Pole, in June 1537, he resigned the Presidentship of Queens'. Like his successor, Dr. Mey, he was one of the compilers of the Prayer Book of 1549; he was one of the commissioners for inquiring into heretical depravity, and again for visiting the University of Oxford, and lived till nearly the end of Edward VI.'s short reign. Sir Thomas Smith, who must have known him intimately, in his Second Oration, referred to above, in praising the King for his wise promotions instances the case of Heynes as "a man of remarkable integrity, piety and liberality to the studious."

The ninth President, Dr. Mey, was even an abler man

than his friend and predecessor, Dr. Heynes. William Mey was a Fellow of Trinity Hall. He had taken his LL.D. degree in 1530. He was a friend of some of the men who had met at the White Horse, and, even if he was not himself a frequenter of those meetings, his opinions were unmistakably those of a Reformer. He rose into eminence as a lawyer. His name does not appear among the Fellows of Queens', but he was employed to obtain the Papal confirmation of the Statutes in 1529. He was Chancellor to Bishop West of Ely, and a great favourite with his successor, Bishop Goodrich. He was in London with Dr. Heynes, then Vice-Chancellor, in 1533, and brought letters from him to the University.

Dr. Mey was appointed by Archbishop Cranmer his Commissary for visiting the diocese of Norwich in 1534. He was ordained subdeacon, deacon and priest all at once by Bishop Goodrich in 1536. In 1537 he was appointed one of the commissioners who produced "The Institution of a Christian Man," "the great dogmatical document of the Reformation," "a noble endeavour on the part of the Bishops to promote unity and to instruct the people in Church doctrine" (Blunt, "Hist. of Ref."). In 1546 he was made Dean of St. Paul's. He shared with Dr. Heynes and Dr. John Taylor, formerly Fellow of Queens', the honour of being a compiler of the Prayer Book. There was hardly a commission on which he did not sit, scarcely a measure passed in which he took no part. In Downes' words ("Lives," p. cxxxv.), "he was well skilled in the constitution both of Church and State, and there was scarce any considerable step taken towards the reformation of

the prevailing corruptions and abuses without consulting his opinions." Such was the man who became President of Queens' in 1537. He would probably have been welcomed as the Head of any College, and his appointment was a most happy choice. It may be conjectured, in lack of definite evidence on the point, that the resigning President secured the choice of a successor so eminently able to uphold the opinions which they shared in common.

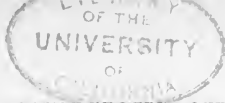
The first important event of his Mastership was the acquisition by the College of the ground belonging to the Carmelites. The steps by which the site was acquired—viz., the surrender by the Prior and Friars, the King's warrant to Dr. Daye, Provost of King's College, Dr. Mey, Richard Wilkes, and Thomas Smith, Fellows of Queen's College in 1538, the purchase of the materials of the Convent for £20 in 1541, and finally of the site for £36 in 1544, have been related in chapter i. It need only be added here, that the inventory taken in accordance with the King's warrant shows that the Carmelites were very poor, unless, indeed, in view of the impending dissolution the more valuable of their belongings had been quietly removed; that a part of the ground was purchased by King's College; and that the glass in five windows on the north side in the Library of Queens' College seems to have been brought from the Carmelite Convent.

"They are each of two lights, and are glazed with quarries of various patterns, while in the upper part of each light is inserted the head of a Carmelite Friar. A narrow border of red and blue glass runs round each light-

There are fragments of inscriptions inserted in the border " (Searle, p. 233).

When the College had ascertained the willingness of the Carmelites to surrender, a letter (August 8, 1538) was addressed to Cromwell, as the King's Secretary, asking that the site might be granted them. The letter is given by Mr. Searle ("Additions," &c. vi.) and is probably the composition of Sir Thomas Smith. After a *captatio benevolentiae* addressed to Cromwell in terms sufficiently flattering, the letter continues:

"There is a convent of Carmelites adjoining our College. It is small, and has been diminished by the recent sale of part of the ground to King's College. Owing to the decline of false religion and the consequent failure of the revenues got by mendicancy the Friars have nearly all left the house. Only a few are left, who do keep up the name of a convent somehow, but even these, as they can no longer maintain themselves or keep a roof over their heads, would gladly, with the royal permission, retire. We have no doubt therefore that the King's Majesty will soon convert the convent to better uses. If the King would grant the convent to some College, especially our College, although the ground is not very extensive, it will be a great acquisition to us and His Majesty will confer a favour on the University, will grant what is essential to us and will perhaps not be displeasing to the King and his descendants. For whenever royalty has come to Cambridge, it has almost invariably stayed in our College, because the College lies away from the noise of the town, because it is near the river, or because it is pleasantly situated. Accordingly, if the ground shall become the site of a granary or a tanyard, it may be an annoyance to the College and a



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nuisance to royalty. But if it is assigned to the College, to which it is most necessary, we shall not only rejoice endlessly in the grant for our own sakes, but shall also be mightily pleased, because we hope that royalty also will reap some benefit from the grant."

It is pleasant to think that this naïve letter, with the reasons so artlessly set forth why the boon asked should be granted, did not fail of its purpose. It is amusing to find that the success of Queens' College in the matter encouraged the University to follow the example thus set. They also plead that they may have a share in the spoil of the Monasteries: they beg that the houses, out of which "swarms of drones and throngs of impostors used to issue," may be converted into Colleges, the homes "of young men distinguished by their aptitude for learning, or of older men well qualified for preaching." In particular, the University was anxious to secure the once fine buildings of the Franciscans, where a Parliament had sat in the time of Richard II. The King was not unfavourable, but he was developing other views, and the issue was the foundation of Trinity College (see Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 25 ff.).

The immediate result of the dissolution of the Monasteries was a very serious decline in the numbers of the University. And while the renunciation of the Papal authority, which was now required, excluded all strict Romanists, the Six Articles were no less an obstacle to many of Reforming views. Nevertheless the tone of the University had greatly improved, and the standard of scholarship was much higher than it had been. Instruction was now more regular and systematic,

and the five Regius Professorships were founded in 1540. But an uneasy feeling prevailed. It was thought that the Universities would soon share the fate of the Monasteries. And how well founded these fears were became plain, when there was passed the "Act for the Dissolution of Colleges." At this crisis Sir Thomas Smith was able to render the University priceless service. He was Clerk of the Queen's Council. His friend Cheke was tutor to Prince Edward. The University turned for aid to their influence and their talents, and Smith was entrusted with a petition to the Queen (Katharine Parr) imploring her intercession with the King.

"The evidence," says Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 78), "is such as to leave little doubt that it was to Smith's exertions that Cambridge, at this juncture, was indebted for its escape from imminent peril. A Commission could not indeed be altogether averted, but he dexterously contrived, under the plea of relieving the University from heavy and unnecessary expense, that it should not be saddled with the cost of an enquiry conducted by any of the Court officers, but that the proposed task of reporting on the revenues of the Colleges and the manner in which they were expended, should be confided to some of its own members, whose experience and character would afford a guarantee of their efficiency and good faith."

This was indeed drawing the sting from the Commission. The University could look forward with confidence to the result of the inquiry, when the work was entrusted to members of its own of "notable vertue, lerning and knowledge," in the persons of Dr. Parker, Dr. Redman and Dr. Mey.

These three Commissioners set to work at once. Their powers were dated January 16, 1546, and their report was completed before the end of February. The most striking feature brought out by the survey was the poverty of the University. Of the fifteen foundations, two only, King's and St. John's, had an annual income of more than £500. Queens' and Michael House were the only two where the expenditure was not considerably in excess of the income. The revenue of Queens' College is returned as £272 2s. 7½d. The President received £3 6s. 8d., £3 16s. 8d. for his commons, and an allowance of £6 for his horses. The seventeen Fellows in Priest's Orders had £6 13s. 4d. each for stipend, commons and livery; four Fellows not in Orders £3 18s.; six poor scholars, or Bible-clerks, and the Master's scholar £2 12s. apiece. The butler had £2 12s., the head-cook 33s. 4d. for stipend and livery and £2 12s. for commons, the under-cook 20s. for stipend and livery and £2 12s. for commons, the Master's servant £2 12s. for commons. The Divinity lecturer received 40s., the Rhetoric lecturer 40s., the Greek lecturer 40s., the Dean 6s. 8d., and bread, wine, wax &c., for the Chapel cost 40s. a year on the average. The steward's fee was 20s., the auditor's and the bursar's 26s. 8d. apiece. The exsequies celebrated annually for all the benefactors cost £3 14s., exsequies for particular benefactors and money distributed to the poor on these occasions £19 17s. 11d., and £1 6s. 8d. was paid for annual sermons founded by Mr. Lasby. The ordinary expenses of the College are—sizings £3, surplices, utensils and stores £4, pleas and expenses of accounts and courts

£6 13s. 4d., repairs of the College and on the property £35, and extraordinary expenses £13 6s. 8d. The total expenditure amounts to £273 4s. 7d. and exceeds the receipts by £1 1s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (Cooper, "Ann.," i. 431; "Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge," 1852, vol. i. pp. 212-226).

Archbishop Parker has left in his own handwriting ("Parker Correspondence," pp. 35-60, quoted by Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 79) an account of the King's comments on the report and his decision. "He thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." Henry then inquired why the expenditure exceeded the revenue, and was told that "it rose partly of fines for leases and indentures of the farmers renewing their leases, partly of wood sales." On this he observed, "pity it were these lands should be altered to make them worse." "At which words," says the Archbishop, "some were grieved for that they disappointed *lupos quosdam hiantes*" [*i.e.*, the courtiers who had hoped to get the lands]. In the end, the King promised "to force the University no further," and the Commissioners departed happy. And so the danger was overpast. Thanks largely to Sir Thomas Smith, the hands of the spoiler had been kept from the University.

After the accession of Edward VI. a fresh Commission to visit the University, with power to amend and alter the Statutes of the Colleges (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 24), was issued to Bishops Goodrich (Ely) and Ridley (Rochester), Sir William Paget, Comptroller of the Household, Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, Sir John Cheke, Dr. Mey, Dean of St. Paul's and President of Queens',

and Dr. Wendy, the King's Physician. The Visitors brought a new code of Statutes with them, and after their visitation they issued some additional Statutes, under the name of Injunctions, to the University. Among other things these Commissioners were empowered "to dissolve two or more Colleges in the University and on their site or in other fit places to found and erect a College of Civil Law," and "to constitute a Medical College in some other fit place in the University by assigning one of the Colleges for the study of Medicine." These intentions were not carried out, although it was proposed to unite Clare and Trinity Hall for the former purpose. However, the project was frustrated by the determined resistance of the former Society. The Commissioners commenced their work on Monday, May 6, 1549, by listening to a sermon at Great St. Mary's from Bishop Ridley. They then went to King's College Chapel, where their commission was read, and the books, statutes and lists required by it were duly handed in to them. Sir John Cheke produced the Book of New Statutes "synged with the Kynges hand and subscrybed with the cownsell: he red every word therein and delivered it unto the Vyce-chancellor." The Bishop of Ely ended the proceedings by

"a short proposition wherein among other he dyd chefflye exhorte all men to be obedyent unto the Kynges proceedings, and to renownce all papystrye and superstytion, and to bryng in bylls every man of all thynges worthy reformacon, as well in the universyte and colleges as of every private person."

On the following day the visitation of the Colleges began. Queens' was visited May 20, when the Statutes of 1529 were revised. The work did not take long: "on the Munday which was the xxth day thei sate at the Quenes college and made an ende and supped ther." It appears from the accounts that their supper cost £4 12s. 1d. In the disputations, which took place before and by order of the Visitors, the members of the College played a prominent part. The first subject proposed was, that "Transubstantiation could not be proved by Scripture, nor be confirmed by the consent of ancient fathers for a thousand years past." Dr. Glynn, ex-Fellow and soon to be President, opposed; and on the subject of the Lord's Supper he and Andrew Perne, Fellow, afterwards Master of Peterhouse, who subsequently was one of the three who challenged Bucer, were ranged on opposite sides (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 31). The Visitation terminated July 4, and the Injunctions made by the Visitors were read at a Congregation, July 5. But Bishop Goodrich, Cheke, Mey and Wendy still had to prepare the first Statutes of Trinity College (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 138 ff.).

In 1550, for the better preservation of order during Stourbridge Fair, the Colleges are directed to supply a night watch. Twenty-four men are to be provided: King's, Trinity and St. John's furnish four each, Christ's three, and Queens' two; the other Colleges are grouped together in pairs to supply the remainder. These men are to be sent nightly

"in redynes harneshed and weponed, before the bell of

St. Johns at viii of the clock be ceased, in defawt whereof every Colege in whom such defawt shal be, to paye to the Proctours xii^d wherewith to fynd other in their romys. Item, that over and beyond the said nombre, the said Colleges have in a redynes other xxiiii according to the rate aforesaid " (Cooper, " Ann.," ii. 48).

Stourbridge Fair in those days, when such an armed force was required, was an event almost of national importance. The present decayed condition gives no adequate conception of its glories in earlier days.

Dr. Mey, constantly employed on Commissions, sent on royal business and acting as Master in the Court of Requests, could have been little in Cambridge at this time. Various incidental references show that he was busy as Dean of St. Paul's. When Mary succeeded her brother on the throne, Dr. Mey was in London. Bishop Gardiner resumed office as Chancellor of the University, the old Statutes were directed to be restored, Dr. Watson, Gardiner's chaplain, was sent to Cambridge and visited Queens' with the other Colleges at the end of August, 1553. The Vice-President, Stokes, and John Bernard, a Fellow, were sent to the President in London *ad perquirenda antiqua statuta collegii*. These were the Statutes of 1529. The President had been examined by the Queen's Commissioners before the envoys could reach him; the Mass was restored in St. Paul's on September 1, and before the end of the year "such divine service as was commonly used in the last year of Henry VIII. and none other" was directed to be used. Before the year closed Dr. Mey had ceased to be President. There is nothing to show whether

he bowed to the inevitable, and resigned, like Dr. Parker, "in a kind of necessity," or whether he was deprived because he was married. For five years he lived in retirement. But he was destined to be restored to his Mastership and to sit on yet another University Commission. With three exceptions (Gonville, Jesus, Magdalene) every College in Cambridge received a new Head. Queens' College was fortunate in that the new President was a distinguished former member of the Society, who, though he was a strong Roman Catholic, was a scholar and no persecutor. William Glynn was elected Fellow in 1530. He filled several College offices in the next ten years (Searle, p. 245). He became D.D., was elected Lady Margaret's Professor and resigned his fellowship in 1544. On the foundation of Trinity College in 1546 he was appointed a Fellow and was the first Vice-Master. He had resigned his Professorship, from which he had been inhibited, in 1549. But he held other preferments, and was chaplain to Thirlby, then Bishop of Norwich. His election to be President of Queens' was probably December 5, 1553.

In 1554 the Convocation of Canterbury sent letters to the University containing propositions on the nature of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, about which it was intended to hold a disputation at Oxford with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer. The University approved the propositions, and, as the accused prelates were members of the University, it was resolved to send delegates to the discussion to defend the propositions and use all means to induce the three Reformers to assent to the doctrines in question. Dr. Glynn was

one of the delegates sent, and, though he was an old friend of Ridley, he is accused of having been somewhat rough with him (Fox, vi. 491, quoted by Searle, p. 247). However he took no part in the discussions with Cranmer and Latimer. He was Vice-Chancellor for the year 1554-55, but was sent early in 1555 on an embassy to the Pope to obtain confirmation of all that Cardinal Pole had done in the Pope's name. Immediately after his return he was consecrated Bishop of Bangor. He continued to be President for two years after this, but he was for the most part engaged with his Welsh diocese, and it appears probable that his resignation was due to his inability to attend to his duties in Cambridge. Perhaps he may have felt that he was not doing the College justice, or found that his non-residence caused dissatisfaction and therefore removed himself from a false position. Whichever be the true explanation, he did resign about September 1557, and died May 21, 1558. Fuller's high estimate of him seems to have been well deserved :

"An excellent scholar, and as I have been assured by judicious persons, who have seriously perused the solemn disputations (printed in Master Fox) betwixt the Papists and Protestants, that none of the former pressed his arguments with more strength and less passion than Dr. Glynn : though constant to his own, he was not cruel to opposite judgments, as appeareth by the appearing of no persecution in his diocese ; and his mild nature must be allowed to be at least *causa socia* or the fellow cause thereof" ("Worthies of Anglesea").

On the death of Bishop Gardiner, Cardinal Pole became Chancellor, and a general visitation of the

University and Colleges was ordered at the beginning of 1557. A full account of the proceedings written by John Mere, Registry and Esquire Bedell, has been preserved. After the Mass of the Holy Ghost in King's College Chapel on January 11 the Visitors went to Great St. Mary's, where the sermon was preached by Thomas Pecoche, B.D., "inveying against heresydes and heretyckes as Bylney, Latamer, Cranmer, Rydley, &c." Many days were spent in the shameful posthumous proceedings against Bucer and Fagius, whose bodies were burnt with "a greate sorte of bookes that were condemned with theym." The visitation of Queens' took place on January 18. Here is Mere's account :

"The vysyters came to the Quenes college half houre before vii, and in the gate howse a forme sett with carpet and cushyns, w[h]en fyrst the President [*i.e.*, Dale, the Vice-President, Dr. Glynn, the President was absent] receyved them with holy water and sensing in a cope and all the company in surplesses with crosses and candlestycks. After that they went to the Chapell *processionaliter* and had masse of the Holy Ghost songe, which done they sitting styll in the stalles the President delivered the certifi-cat of all the companyes names and I [John Mere] called them, and then they wente upp to the awlter and so to the vestrye perusinge all thinge as they did at the King's college. Then thei wente to the master's lodgyngs and there sate in examination untill x, at what tyme the Vice-chancellor came and fet them to St. Maryes."

But Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Cole "remayned styll at the Quenes college and there dyned and continued tyll affter ii.ii. of the clocke." This dinner is made the ground of a great complaint against

the Visitors by Fox (viii. 273, quoted by Searle p. 254). He relates that they had ordered only three kinds of meat at most to be prepared for them, that at Queens' a capon more than was prescribed was brought up, when they thrust it away in great displeasure.

"These thriving men, that were so sore moved for the preparing of one capon, within little more than one month, beside their private refectons, wasted in their daily diet well nigh a hundred pounds of the common charges of the colleges, so that the university may worthily allege against them this saying of our Saviour, 'Woe unto you that strain out a gnat and swallow up a camel.'"

This seems a little unfair, for whereas the supper of Edward's Commissioners cost £4 12s. 1d. this dinner is entered in the books as costing £1 18s. 10½d. Fox's "nigh a hundred pounds," £82 10s. 4d., was raised by a rate of 4d. in the pound. The share paid by this College was £4 10s. 0d. The Visitors came to the College again on February 8 and February 12. Their object was to ascertain how far the Statutes of 1529 were observed. The Fellows were examined separately, and their answers are preserved in the Parker MSS. and given at length by Mr. Searle, pp. 256-260. It appears therefrom that the College consisted of a President, eleven Fellows, of whom only three were priests, nine scholars—six not on the foundation—two cooks and two servants. The President and seven Fellows were absent. Whether this was by consent or not is a disputed point. The Vice-President Dale declares that they have the assent of the majority. The next witness, Hausoppe (Alsoppe), maintains that the President is absent without the

consent of the Fellows and does not perform his duty in carrying out the Statutes. He has been repeatedly urged by the senior Fellows to force the juniors to take Priests' Orders according to the Statute, but has not done so. This evidence may throw some light on Bishop Glynn's reasons for resigning. His unwillingness to put pressure on the juniors to take orders is quite in keeping with "his mild nature." The evidence discloses various petty irregularities. The most serious piece of laxity evidenced is that John Mey, Dr. Mey's brother, who had been Bursar, was indebted to the College to the amount of £40. John Mey became Master of St. Catharine's and Bishop of Carlisle, but he does not appear to advantage at this period. Two of the Fellows, Robinson and Joscelyn, are agreed to have been thrust in irregularly by the Edwardian Visitors. Joscelyn was removed, as was Longworth, afterwards Master of St. John's. Robinson, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, John Mey, and Igulden took Priest's Orders soon afterwards. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is in this case a safe assumption to make. The evidence as a whole reveals a state of discord and division, which is unedifying, but perhaps not surprising in view of the utter unsettlement of the time.

Thomas Pecocke, B.D., who had preached before the Visitors, became President about October 1557. He was a native of Cambridge, had been Fellow of St. John's, held several livings and a canonry, first at Norwich, then at Ely, and was chaplain to Bishop Thirlby. He was a man of some prominence on the Roman Catholic side, and probably his election was urged, if not forced, upon the College. The chief

event of his short tenure of office was a wretched squabble about elections to Fellowships. The President with a majority (six) of the Fellows pressed the election of three men, Harnesse, Hyndmer and Welles, all members of other foundations. It can hardly be doubted that the object of the majority was to make the most of their opportunities and fill the vacancies, before the Marian policy had been reversed, with men favourable to the Romanist view. However, the Vice-President and four Fellows protested loudly against the election of three persons "by common fame most unworthie in all the tounne, not known or sene ever before to us," and accused the President "with his crew of gamblers and bankrupts" of gross misgovernment and the basest motives. Both parties appealed to Sir William Cecil, who had accepted the Chancellorship on Cardinal Pole's death. Cecil rebuked both parties with dignity on their unworthy attitude. The matter was referred by him to the decision of Dr. Pory, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Parker and Mr. Leedes. The whole correspondence, in which Sir Thomas Smith took part, will be found in Searle, pp. 268-283. In the end the arbitrators assured themselves that two of the three persons were satisfactory, and authorised Pecocke to admit them. Wretched as the whole controversy appears, there are two points of some interest in the correspondence. The first is the admission by the President and his party of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs to which the Marian reaction had reduced the University. The second point is that the Chancellor consulted his friends Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Mey on the state of their College, and learned from Sir

Thomas Smith "that Mr. Pecocke now presidente of the said colledg is fully minded to gyve over his interest and title in the same to Doctor Mey," "which thing," continues Cecil, "I like very well."

These proceedings took place in March and April, 1559. In May, according to the intention ascribed to him by Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Pecocke quietly retired. He lived apparently in the town, and was alive in 1581. A grant of £4 is made to him by vote of the President and Fellows, June 1559. So it may be hoped that they parted in peace and amity. Dr. Mey was restored without opposition. He had lived in retirement during Mary's reign, but he had not been far from Cambridge. The expense of sending a servant with the old Statutes from his residence to the College was only 6*d*. His rooms in the College seem to have been kept for him, even if they were not occupied by him. And there would be no difficulty in this. For some years there had not been the full number of Fellows. Dr. Mey had lost the Deanery of St. Paul's and the Presidentship. But he seems to have retained his canonry at Ely and he was preferred to livings during Mary's reign (Searle, p. 286). The inference is that he did not leave England. Had he done so, a man of his mark would certainly have been named among the exiles at Strassburg, Zurich, Frankfort, or elsewhere. In June 1559 he was again President and Dean of St. Paul's. He was one of the seven divines who, with Sir Thomas Smith, revised the Prayer Book of 1552, which, after their revision, was enforced by the Act of Uniformity from June 24, 1559. In the same month, June 1559 he was appointed with Cecil, Cooke, Dr. Parker

Haddon, Wendy, Horne and James Pilkington to reorganise and reform the University. The instructions of the Commissioners were almost identical with those given to the Commission of 1549, and, with a few modifications, the "laws, injunctions and resolutions" enacted during the reign of Edward VI. were put in force both for the University and the Colleges. These Elizabethan Statutes of Queens' College are signed by Archbishop Parker, Bill, Haddon and Mey. On one more Commission Dr. Mey sat in October 1559—viz., the Commission to take the oaths of ecclesiastics. He was nominated to the Archbishopric of York June 1560, but died August 8, the very day of his election. This sad coincidence is noted in the inscription on his monument (Dugdale's "St. Paul's," 63).

"Attulit hæc mortem quæ lux concessit honorem;

Maluit, ac fieri Præsul, adire polum.

Aspice quam rebus sit sors incerta caducis!

En! pete quæ nullo sint peritura die."

He left the College financially very prosperous. An estate at Eversden had recently been purchased for £60. And now, February 1560, the College purchased from Mr. Anthony Pope, the manor, advowson and estate of Hockington (Oakington), Cambridge, which had been the property of Croyland Abbey, for £700 (Searle, pp. 295-96).

CHAPTER VI

SOME ELIZABETHAN DIVINES

" In her days

God shall be truly known ; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour."

SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry VIII.*

Presidents : John Stokes, 1560-1568 ; William Chaderton, 1568-1579 ; Humphrey Tindall, 1579-1614 ; John Davenant, 1614-1622 ; John Mansell, 1622-1631.

THE continual changes of the last few years had operated most prejudicially on the University. A striking proof of this is seen in the fact that in the academic year 1558-59, the number of persons who took the B.A. degree was only twenty-eight (Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 170). Within ten years the University had been

"under the government of four different constitutions, had witnessed the banishment and death of some of her most distinguished ornaments, and had been exposed to the still more bitter trial and humiliation of witnessing the most rapid and fundamental revolutions of opinion and profession, amongst the majority of her members, on the most vital points which can concern mankind" (Dean Peacock, "Observations," p. 41, quoted Mullinger ii. 178).

Yet, it is surprising how rapidly Cambridge recovered



From a photograph by

[7. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

INTERIOR OF GALLERY, LOOKING WEST



under a firm and settled government. There were difficulties and struggles soon to come. The extreme reformers developed into Calvinists and Puritans. Nowhere were the early Puritans stronger than in Cambridge. The University was divided and convulsed by the Puritan movement, and, had its course not been guided by clear heads and firm hands, might easily have been wrecked at this crisis. But happily the rulers of Church and State were wise and firm. Cambridge had never had more loyal sons than Archbishop Parker and Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley. They asked nothing better than to be able to serve Cambridge. "I would wish," writes Parker, before he had been made Primate (Correspondence p. 51) "to bestow most my time in the University, the state whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof." He was not suffered "to bestow his time" in Cambridge, but from his high place he exercised a wise and vigilant control over his *alma mater*. Cecil, writing in a moment of discouragement, when he wished to be relieved of the Chancellorship, declares his unalterable affection for "the honourable and deare body of the University,"

"wherof, although I was once but a simple, small, unlearned and loe member, yet have I as greate plentye of natural humor of love towards the same as eny other that hath by degrees byn rewarded to be yn the higheste place of that Bodye" (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 174).

The return of prosperity to the University may be illustrated by the rapid rise in numbers of this College. At the date of Queen Elizabeth's visit, August 1564, when the total number of members of the University

was 1267, the Society consisted of the President or Master ; fifteen Fellows (of whom two were B.D., six M.A., and seven B.A.); six pensioners in Fellows' Commons (of whom one was B.D. and two were M.A.), twenty-three scholars and Bible-clerks (of whom four were B.A.); fourteen pensioners in Scholars' Commons ; six sizars or poor scholars, in all sixty-five. In 1573 Dr. Caius enumerated the Master, nineteen Fellows, eight Bible-clerks, seventeen scholars and seventy-seven pensioners, making a total of one hundred and twenty-two. In other words the number of residents had almost doubled in less than ten years. And, if we may look forward for another fifty years, in 1621, the Society consisted of a President, nineteen Fellows, twenty-three scholars, eight Bible-clerks and three lecturers, these, together with the students, making a total of two hundred and thirty, probably the highest figure the College has ever reached. And, as we shall see, at the period in question, Queens' was very prosperous under Bishop Davenant.

Dr. William Mey's successor was John Stokes. Stokes had entered as a Bible-clerk in 1538, was elected Fellow 1544 and ordained soon afterwards. He had retained his Fellowship during the religious changes of the preceding reigns, and became Vice-President in 1556. As he led the opposition to Mr. Pecocke he was evidently an anti-Papist, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that Sir William Cecil had marked him for promotion, and the Queen had consequently made him Archdeacon of York, an office which he retained till his death. He became D.D. in 1564, and was Vice-Chancellor in the following year.

The great event of his Presidentship was the visit of Queen Elizabeth in August 1564, of which Nicholas Robinson, formerly Fellow of Queens', and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, wrote a full account in Latin. The Chancellor came down to prepare for the royal visit. He was most loyally anxious that the University should not offend the Queen by any foolish display of Puritanical proclivities. He commanded "that order should be diligently kept of all sorts, and that uniformity should be shewn in apparel and religion, especially in setting of the communion table." On Saturday, August 5th, the Queen rode in from Haslingfield. She entered the town by Queens' College, where Sir William Cecil sat upon his horse at the gate. From there to the west door of Kings' College Chapel "stood upon both sides, one by one, all the University." Addresses in prose and verse, which are preserved in Bishop Robinson's narrative, were presented by two Sophisters, two Bachelors, and two Masters: one of the Bachelors was Robert Some, of Queens' College. At the service on the following day the sermon was preached by Andrew Perne, formerly Fellow of Queens', now Master of Peterhouse. On this occasion was used the earliest extant version of that particular form of the bidding prayer with which we are familiar (Mullinger, ii. 192). Dr. Perne took as his text, "*Omnis anima subdita sit potestatibus supereminentibus*," Rom. xiii. 1. And who could more fully enforce the duty of obedience to princes than the tolerant divine who had steadily obeyed Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Queen Mary, no less than her present Majesty? "He attacked the Anabaptists, denounced the arrogance of the Pope, commended Henry VI. and Henry VII. for

their benefactions to the University." To the royal foundation, of which he had been a member, he alluded with becoming pride. "*Quod seculum unquam futurum erit, in quo admirabilis beneficentia serenissimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ, clarissimæ coniugis Edovardi quarti fundatricis collegii Reginæ non in magna laude et admiratione erit ?*" His object was to stimulate Elizabeth to do the like, "privily moving and stoutly exhorting her Highness to the lyke, by their example." In the evening the Queen witnessed a performance of the *Aulularia* in King's College Chapel. On the following days there were disputations in Great St. Mary's Church. In the disputations in Philosophy William Chaderton, afterwards President, took part; in Medicine, Dr. Lorkin, formerly Fellow of Queens' and in Divinity, Dr. Stokes, the President. Her visit to Queens' on the Wednesday was cut short for want of time. "Her Majestie came home by the Queens' College and S. Katherine's Hall; only perusing the houses because it was almost one a clock." The oration prepared by Robert Some for this occasion was not delivered; nevertheless it is duly given in Bishop Robinson's narrative. During the Queen's stay, "the Cofferer, the Masters and other officers of the Household" were lodged in Queens' College (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 184-206). Gifts were made by the College of 11s. 4d. to the Comptroller of the Household, and 9s. 4d. to the Cofferer (Searle, p. 301).

At the time of the royal visit the College was engaged in building. The wages of the workmen are duly recorded in the books during the summer of this year, but no particulars about the building itself are given. There can be little doubt, however, that the extension

was on the S.W. side of the College, and that the edifice then erected was that "clunch building," which had fallen into disrepair and was pulled down to make way for Essex's building two hundred years later. Loggan's map and plan show the relations of this building to the rest of the College. It extended along Silver Street, from the S.W. corner of the Hall range to the river, and a return of it extended to the Cloisters, overlapping by some 25 feet (Willis and Clark, ii. 18) the W. side of the Cloister Court. In June 1564, William Packet, Bursar, buys stone, *i.e.*, clunch, at Barrington, and twenty-two loads are brought to Cambridge. The woodwork is charged in the accounts for Sept., the iron-work is charged at the end of this year and the beginning of the next. "It therefore occupied only seven months in building."

Dr. Stokes, as Vice-Chancellor, was called upon to adjudicate a curious controversy. The Lady Margaret's Preacher, William Hughes, B.D., a former member of the College, gave offence to the people of Leicester by the doctrines he preached there. Whitgift, the Lady Margaret's Professor, was sent to make inquiries, and it was decided by the University that the whole question should be examined by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Stokes, Dr. Whitgift and others. But, as apparently they came to no determination, at the Earl of Leicester's request the matter was left to him, Sir William Cecil and Archbishop Parker. Hughes gave offence by his exposition of "the descent into hell," and so great a controversy arose on the subject in Cambridge, that Cecil, as Chancellor, ordered that "no manner of person should in any sermon, open disputation, or reading, move any question

or doubt upon the article '*de descensu Christi ad inferos.*'"

John Stokes died April 29th, 1568. He bequeathed to the College £90 and an estate at Ocley (Oakley), Bedfordshire, to found four scholarships for poor scholars. He was buried in the Chapel. His monument was at the E. end, but since 1777 has been in the ante-Chapel. The inscription and the verses on the brass will be found in Searle, p. 299. He had had a brass put up to Andrew Dokett in 1564, as appears from the accounts (Searle, p. 302). Dr. Stokes died early: he was only 45.

The thirteenth President, William Chaderton, had graduated at Pembroke, and was at this time Fellow of Christ's. He was a man of good family, and a scholar of great promise, who has already been mentioned as taking part in the disputations before the Queen. Sir John Harington (quoted Searle, p. 304) tells a curious story of him.

"It will not be forgotten in Cambridge, while he is remember'd, how preaching one day in his younger yeeres a wedding Sermon (which indeed should be festivale) Mr. Chatterton is reported to have made this pretty comparison, and to have given this friendly caveat: 'That the choice of a wife is full of hazard, not unlike as if one in a barrell full of serpents should grope for one Fish; if (saith he) he scape harm of the snakes and light on a fish, he may be thought fortunate, yet let him not boast, for perhaps it may be but an Eele.' Howbeit he married afterwards himself, and I doubt not sped better than his comparison."

Chaderton, in 1567, had been elected Lady Margaret's

Professor in succession to no less a person than Whitgift. His election to be President was due to the influence of Sir William Cecil, to whom he returned thanks in a neat and complimentary Latin letter (Searle, p. 305). He was admitted May 8th: "the colledg diner at the admitting of our m^r." cost 13s. 3d. He succeeded Dr. Stokes in the Archdeaconry of York as well as the Presidentship.

The new President soon married. It would be interesting to know where he bestowed his wife. The lady was Katharine Revell, and Chaderton, who was chaplain to the famous Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wrote to ask his patron's assent to his marriage (Searle, p. 305). But Elizabeth, whose views on the subject were well known, had taken a high hand in the matter of married Heads. The Queen's Majesty expressly willed and commanded:

"that no manner of person, being the head or member of any college or cathedral church within this realm, shall from the time of the notification hereof in the same college, —the date is August 1561—have or be permitted to have within the precinct of any such college, his wife or other woman to abide and dwell in the same, or to frequent and haunt any lodging within the same college" (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 169).

Mr. Mullinger (ii. 287) quotes a case where this ordinance was disregarded, and no doubt in time it became a dead letter.* But it may be doubted whether so early

* It is a significant fact that "the Bill prohibiting the Residence of married men with their Wives and Families in Colleges," etc., got as far as the second reading in the Lords in 1604, and again in 1606, when it was agreed that it should not be committed. See Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 5 and 20.

as this Mrs. Chaderton would be brought into College, although there can be little question that the next President's family regularly occupied the now enlarged Lodge. Dr. Chaderton—he took the D.D. degree in 1569—was recommended to the Chancellor, when Dr. Whitgift proposed to resign the Regius Professorship of Divinity, by the Heads of Houses, “as one most fit in their Judgments to succeed in his Place,” and received the Regius Professorship at the end of 1569, holding it until he became Bishop of Chester. The notorious Thomas Cartwright succeeded him as Lady Margaret's Professor. And the juxtaposition of the names was ominous of what was to be Chaderton's main work in the University. Under the guidance of Parker and Cecil, and under the leadership of the indefatigable Whitgift, a number of the Heads banded themselves together to uphold the cause of law and order. Of these Dr. Chaderton was neither the least conspicuous nor the least active. The early divagations of the Puritans appeared to be trifling enough. They refused to wear the surplice and the cap, and flounced out of the College Chapels when the service was commenced in Latin, as was now permitted in Collegiate Churches and Chapels, “in direct response to a petition representing that familiarity with the Latin tongue would be thereby promoted, and that this in turn would result in a richer growth of theology” (Mullinger, ii. 183). But under these childish exhibitions there lay deeper principles, and the Church-rulers rightly discerned that it was not a mere question of vestments, but that all order and uniformity of worship was at stake. Cartwright, whose great abilities and fine personal gifts were

marred by a strange want of judgment, in his lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, bitterly attacked the existing Church-government. Both as Regius Professor, and as having himself just vacated the chair which Cartwright now filled, Dr. Chaderton might well feel that he was deeply concerned in the matter. He writes (June 11th, 1570) to the Chancellor to lay before him the pass to which things have come.

“True it is such seditions, contention, and disquietude, such errors and schismes openlie taught and preached, boldlie and without warrant, are latelie growne amongst us, that the good estate, quietnes, and governance of Cambridge, and not of Cambridge alone but of the whole church and realme, are for great hazarde unles severlie by authorities they be punished.” Cartwright, who ‘alwaies stubburnlie refused the cappe and such like ornaments,’ ‘dothe now for his daylie lectors teache such doctrine as is pernicious and not tollerable for a Christian commonwealth.’

The sequel hardly belongs to this narrative. It is enough to say that Cartwright’s degree was refused; that he was first suspended and then deprived of his Professorship.

The agitation about Cartwright led to a change in the Statutes of the University. The most important change was in the *caput*. The Heads became a distinct estate in the government of the University. To them also was reserved the interpretation of the Statues. In drafting the new Statutes Chaderton lent his help. The draft was sent to Cecil, who submitted it to the Archbishop, and the new Statutes, enacted “on account of the again increasing audacity and excessive licence of

men," received the Queen's assent Sept. 25th, 1570. See Mullinger, "Univ. of Camb.," ii. 222-238. It need only here be noted that Humphrey Tindall was one of the juniors who protested against the changes made by these Statutes, and that Nicholas Robinson, now Bishop of Bangor, was one of the distinguished men, to whom the matter was referred and who saw no reason to make any alterations. The Bishop of Bangor's name was added to the list "as some time twice proctor in Cambridge, and having good understanding in causes there." See Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 279-304.

But Dr. Chaderton had to keep order nearer home. One of those who tried to make a diversion in Cartwright's favour was Robert Some, of Queens' College, who was the orator on the occasion of the Queen's visit. Mr. Some preached a violent sermon at St. Mary's nominally directed against pluralities and non-residence, which, said Dr. Chaderton in his letter to the Chancellor, "had not been greatly amiss, but that he burst out into a heat of pernicious and rebellious articles," attacking, like Cartwright, the government of the Church. This, as will appear, was not the only sermon preached by Mr. Some which got him into trouble. Chaderton had not only to keep order, he had to keep the peace. A Fellow, Ralph Jones, is twice admonished by him for sowing discord and for quarrelling. The same gentleman was expelled from his Fellowship for retaining £44 15s. 11½*d.* after the audit of his accounts as Bursar. But he was restored by the intercession of Lord Burghley, on payment of the money, and a promise "quietly to behave hymself in the College hereafter" (Searle, pp. 321-22). But the most turbulent spirits in

the Society were Robert Some aforesaid and Edmund Rockrey. They are leaders against the President in the case of William Middleton, who, being refused his College grace for the M.A. degree, took the degree at Oxford. The majority of the body considered that this was not a compliance with the Statute, but that, if Middleton wished to retain his Fellowship, the degree must be taken at Cambridge. Hereupon Middleton was removed, but Some and Rockrey interposed and admonished the President not to proceed to fill up the Fellowship. The election was suspended and the case referred to the Chancellor. In the end the matter was compromised, Middleton was restored to his Fellowship, but not to his seniority.

“At the instance of the righte honorable Sr. W^m. Cecill, Lord Burghley, and Chauncellor of this Unyversytie, the said Wm. Mydleton, upon his humble submyssyon & promes to lyve orderlie and quietlie hereafter, was shortlie after Mychelmas *eodem anno predicto* (1575), chosen agayne fellow and so became a junyor and lost both his allowance and senioritie.”

But the course of the majority was partly justified by subsequent events, for ten years later the same person Middleton was brought up before the next President and two Senior Fellows and “receyved an admonitione and was charged to surcease from disorderly and contentious practises and dealinge, upon the perill furdre to ensewe, upon the Statute *de seminandis discordiis*.” (See Searle, pp. 324-31.) The case of Edmund Rockrey is more complicated. He was a follower of Cartwright’s, who in defiance of the Vice-Chancellor’s monition denounced

the new Statutes of 1570. He was repeatedly examined upon what he had said, and it was finally determined that he must read a public recantation. This he refused to do, so he was "expelled out of the college and university for his grete disobedience, disorder and contumacy." However, by the advice of Lord Burghley, the sentence was revoked and Rockrey was restored. But, though up to this time he had held College offices, he does not seem to have been allowed any further part in the management of the College. And he had learnt nothing from the past. He signed the remonstrance against the new Statutes of the University. He refused to wear clerical and academic garb, and was repeatedly admonished because he would not receive the Communion. The President and the Chancellor being together at Theobald's, in 1575, Dr. Chaderton consulted Lord Burghley on the case. The Chancellor urged delay, but the President writes a year later that Rockrey is still disorderly and a centre of disaffection. Perhaps to remove Rockrey from the scene of these disagreements, Lord Burghley gave Rockrey a Prebend at Rochester in 1577. He then refused to resign his Fellowship and maintained that he could hold it, as others had done, with his Prebend. Lord Burghley's feeling was against this, but he would sanction no forcible proceedings. So Rockrey held on, to the despair of Dr. Chaderton. At last, in 1579, Rockrey retired, and the College got rid of a most froward and unruly member. But *caelum, non animum, mutavit*. At Rochester he was first suspended and then deprived. Yet "he is said to have been distinguished for his learning and abilities, and to have been an admired and popular preacher" (Searle, p. 345).

In 1575 a long agreement was drawn up between the University and the Town, for cleansing and lighting the streets, and diminishing the danger of pestilence and fire. For better provision against the casualty of fire, the Colleges were to have proper equipment. The apparatus ordered for Queens' College was "5 buckets, 1 scoop, 1 long ladder, 1 short ladder" (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 337). This is a point on which the Colleges have been very remiss, long after the date of this ordinance. It was reserved for the modern Ladies' Colleges to set to the old foundations the example of having an organised fire-brigade.

In 1576 the minister of Trinity parish was committed to prison by the Heads for irregularly marrying Mr. Byron, of Queens' College, to a Miss Beaumont, of Leicestershire, who was sojourning in Cambridge. Two Masters of Arts, who were present at the wedding, were also committed. The case is set forth in a letter from the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Goade, to the Chancellor, given Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 348.

"'The circumstances,' says the Vice-Chancellor, 'maye seeme to aggravat the dealing in this contract. The place in Cambridge, the younge Gentleman a great heyer (heir), a schollar of Queenes Colledge, a pupill about the age of 19 yeres, committed to the charge of a tutor in the same Colledge, the marriage without either consent or privity of the Gentleman's parents or tutor, the solemnizacion close and seacreat without banns or licence for the ministre to marry them, the younge gentleman sence conveyed into the country wherby I cannot take ordre for the restoringe of him to his Tutor, untill his father's pleasure be knowne, besyde the greatest inconvenience of all (if it fall out trew)

of a precontract pretended sence the said marriage betweene the said scholler and another yonge gentlewoman of the town."

Poor Mr. Byron ! It looks as if he were a youth with more money than brains, who was married out of hand by Miss Beaumont and her relations to secure him from the toils of the "yonge gentlewoman of the town."

Sir Thomas Smith visited the College in Aug. 1571, when he had "a marchpane and a pottle of Ippocras," at a cost of 14*s.* 8*d.* On December 2nd, 1573, he made over to the College a rent charge of £12 7*s.* 4*d.* on the manor of Overston, Northamptonshire. With this money were to be founded a lectureship in arithmetic, with a stipend of £3, a lectureship in geometry, with a stipend of £4, and two scholarships of £2 3*s.* 8*d.* each. His lecturers were enjoined that the lectures should not

"be redd of the reader as of a preacher out of a pulpit, but *per radium et eruditum pulverem*, as it is said, that is with a penn on paper or tables, or a sticke or compasse in sand or duste to make demonstracon, that his schollers maie both understand the reader and also do it themselves and so profit."

The scholars are required not to proceed B.A. until they are expert in arithmetic, nor M.A. until they understand the first six books of Euclid "bie the judgment of the reader of geometrie, upon the said reader of geometrie his oth." The balance of £1 was to be employed "at one or two daies in the year to amende the cheare of the fellows and scholars in such one daie or two as it shall please them." This is the origin of "Tom Smith's Feast" on Dec. 2nd.

The last of Sir Thomas Smith's many services to the University was perhaps also the greatest. "One of his last acts was the introduction of a measure which long afterwards caused his name to be held in grateful remembrance, not only at Queens', but in every College in Cambridge and in Oxford, as well as at Eton and at Winchester" (Mullinger, ii. 375). This was the Act of 1576 "for the Maintenance of the Colleges in the Universities, and of Winchester and Eaton." The important clause is that no College,

"after the end of this present session of Parliament, shall make any Lease for lief lieves or yeeres, of anie ferme or anie their Lands, Tenements or other Heredytaments to the which anie Tythes, Errable Lande, Meadowe or Pasture dothe or shall apperteigne, *except that the one thirde parte at the leaste of the olde Rent be reserved and paide in Corne*, . . . that is to saye in good Wheate after VI^s. VIII^d. the quarter or under, and good Malte after VI^s. the quarter or under. . . . The same Wheate, Malte, or the money cominge of the same to be expended to the use of the Relief of the Commons and Diett of the saide Colledges."

Sir Thomas reasoned that the supply of gold and silver being unlimited, land and the produce of land limited, the value of land must rise. The provision that one-third at least of the old rent should be paid in corn stopped, in part, the system of extravagant fines on the renewal of leases, which afforded immediate dividends, but conferred no permanent benefit. The third payable in corn, which rose to be six or eight times its nominal value, became far more valuable to the Colleges than the remaining two-thirds paid in money. The

advantages secured by the measure were soon felt. In 1601 the Act was described as a "most blessed and gracious Statute, . . . without which happie helpe the Colledges had, many of them, bene left forsaken by their students long ere this" (Cooper, "Ann.," ii. 602). (See also Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vii. 6-8.)

And so with this most useful measure a great career closed. Sir Thomas Smith died Aug. 12th, 1577. By his will he bequeathed to the College his Latin and Greek books and his great globe, made by himself. Dr. Chaderton, through the influence of his patron, Lord Leicester, became Bishop of Chester and resigned the Presidentship in 1579. He was translated to Lincoln in 1595. Sir John Harington says of him, at Cambridge, that "he was beloved among the schollars, and the rather for that he did not affect any soure and austere fashion, either in teaching or government, as some used to doe; but well tempered both with courage and courtesie" (Searle, pp. 310-11). In 1589 he gave the College Library a very fine copy of Montanus' Polyglott Bible, in eight volumes.

On the vacancy made by Bishop Chaderton's resignation, Humphrey Tindall was elected President, July 3rd, 1579. He was a son of Sir Thomas Tindall, of Hockwold, Norfolk: his mother was Amye, daughter of Sir Henry Fermor, of East Barsham. He was just 30 at the date of his election. The youthful Humphrey had been matriculated at Gonville Hall, in 1555. As he could not have been more than six years old at the time, the case, if the dates are right, is very remarkable.*

* In his deposition about Lord Leicester's marriage he is described as *natus annos 34 aut circiter*. This would allow him to be ten at the

He did not come into residence at that immature age, for he did not graduate until 1565-6, when he was 16 or 17. He had been scholar of Christ's, and was now Fellow of Pembroke, and Vicar of the Pembroke living of Soham, which he held to the end. He was, as his predecessor had been, chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, and in the previous year, 1578, had married him privately to Lady Letitia, widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The marriage caused a great sensation, as it was supposed that Lord Essex was poisoned, and Lord Leicester forsook Lady Douglas Sheffield, who was believed to be his wife. Humphrey Tindall's deposition on the subject is quoted from the State Papers by Mr. Searle, pp. 352-55. There can be no doubt that he owed his promotion to Lord Leicester's influence. The probability that he would be put forward for election by Lord Leicester had been foreseen, and one of the Fellows, David Yale, had written to Lord Burghley a year previously to urge that Leicester should not be allowed to influence the election, as Mr. Tindall was too young and inexperienced to be President. However, the election was directly due to Lord Burghley's recommendation, and Tindall, "*ornatus non ita pridem, Illustrissime Heros, insigni tuo præstantique beneficio,*" makes his acknowledgments to the Chancellor in due form. Tindall's wife, Jane Russell, lived to marry again twice after his death. From entries in the College accounts she lived in the Lodge, the building of which was completed in Tindall's time (see pages 60-62), but they resided for the most part at Ely, of which Tindall

date of his matriculation, and there are cases of matriculation at that age.

became Dean, 1591. The family was of Bohemian extraction, and Fuller ("Univ. of Camb.," v. 34) narrates of Dr. Humphrey Tindall what he calls "an improbable tradition" then current:

"That in the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was proffered by a Protestant Party in Bohemia to be made King thereof. Which he refused alleading that he had rather be Queen Elizabeth's subject than a forain Prince. I know full well that Crown is elective. I know also for some hundreds of years it has been fixed to the German empire. However, because no smoak without some fire or heat at least; there is something in it, more than appears to every eye."

Fuller goes on to say that he does not know how Bohemian blood came into his veins, but that he gave the arms of Bohemia for a crest. The evidence for Tindall's Bohemian descent has been carefully sifted by Mr. Searle (pp. 368-370). Fuller's "improbable tradition" appears to rest on Robert Johnson's enlargement of Bolero's *Relazioni universali* (Rome, 1592) in which Bohemia is said to have offered the crown to Dr. Tindall's father, "which story is famously known in Cambridge." But there is no trace of the story in Bolero himself.

Tindall, as a young man, was a "Liberal." He had signed the remonstrance against the new University Statutes in 1572. His views were Calvinistic to a marked degree. But a predilection for Calvinistic doctrine by no means implied a love for Calvinistic discipline. Men, who held strongly the doctrines of Calvin, may be said to have spent their lives in combating Calvin's system of Church government, because they

saw that it would mean separation and disintegration. In doctrinal opinions, for instance, there was no very wide divergence between Archbishop Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright. Yet Whitgift's whole career, at Cambridge and as Primate, was one long and successful struggle against the theories of Travers' *Disciplina*, which was the accepted *pronunciamento* of the Puritan party. And Humphrey Tindall, Calvinist as he was, would have nothing to do with any Puritan laxity, and held the reins of government with a hand as firm as ever his predecessor had done. One of his first acts as President was the building of the College brewhouse, which caused a storm in a tea-cup. The expense was defrayed by the sale of a number of trees. Both the Chancellor and Bishop Chaderton lamented this action. The Bishop says that the trees had been "the ornament, bewty, and defence of the Colledge," and hopes that "the long row of goodly ashes" may be saved. The Vice-Chancellor is ordered to inspect and report to the Chancellor. His report with the explanation of the Fellows was apparently satisfactory, and the matter was allowed to drop.

While Dr. Tindall was Vice-Chancellor, 1585-86, John Smith, of Christ's, in his Ash-Wednesday sermon, attacked the custom of allowing plays to be performed in the Colleges on Saturday and Sunday evenings, as a breach of the Sabbath. He was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads and examined on his sermon. Smith was more amenable to authority than members of his party usually were. He undertook to explain his views more fully in another sermon, which was to be submitted beforehand to the judgment of the Vice-

Chancellor. The importance attached to such pulpit utterances, and the fierce controversies which originated therefrom, will be better understood, if it is remembered that attendance at the sermon was obligatory, and absence was punished by a fine. And the pulpit was, perhaps, never more potent than it was in Cambridge at this time. Many members of the University were called to account for ill-judged sermons shortly afterwards. Such were the famous William Perkins, of Christ's, who "subsequently explained himself," Charles Chadwick, of Emmanuel, Sampson Sheffield, of Christ's, and Francis Johnson, of Christ's. Dr. Tindall, on these occasions, showed himself as firmly determined as any of the Heads that liberty should not run wild to licence. The discourse, however, which was most momentous in its issues, was preached by a man of quite the opposite school of thought to the "Separatists" just mentioned. William Barret, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, in the Easter Term of 1595 (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vii. 17), attacked the doctrines of Calvin "with some sharp and unbecoming speeches of that reverend man, and other foreign learned Protestant writers (exhorting the auditors not to read them)." This sermon marks the beginning of a revolt against Calvinistic doctrines. The reaction came surely, if slowly, and the first step had been taken which led to Bancroft, Mountaigne and Laud. Barret was cited, and eventually consented to recant. But his recantation was so made that it was held to aggravate the offence. He was again cited, and, being threatened with expulsion, appealed to Archbishop Whitgift for protection, complaining of the harshness with which he was treated, and the undue

leniency shown to men of views opposite to his own. The Archbishop intervened with more force than discretion, and, while correspondence was passing between Whitgift and the Heads of Houses, Robert Some preached another of his violent sermons; "intemperate and indiscreet" the Archbishop calls it. Peterhouse, on the death of Dr. Perne, had chosen another Master from Queens'. But the bitter and bigoted Some was a complete contrast to the kindly and tolerant Perne. On this occasion

"his text, it seems, was out of Acts iv. 5: 'Their rulers, and elders and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and JOHN, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst they asked, By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?' Turning all this unto the Archbishop (John Whitgift) that bore one of these names, and the rest of the high commission: comparing them unto these Jewish persecutors: and those that were convented before them to Peter and John, the preachers of Christ and his doctrine" (Strype, "Life of Whitgift, iv. 15).

The sermon was considered to be a direct attack on the Archbishop, though the Heads assured him that they had not so understood Some, and that Some denied any such intention. If the attack was intended, its grossness was greatly aggravated by the fact that Some owed his election at Peterhouse to Whitgift's choice. However, when Barret was summoned to Lambeth, Humphrey Tindall and Whitaker, Master of St. John's, were sent to represent the Heads. Barret was

told that his views on some points were erroneous, and agreed to sign a recantation drawn up by the Archbishop. The interest of this mission of Tindall and Whitaker to Lambeth lies in the fact that it led to the Lambeth Articles, which, though they seemed to be a victory for Calvinism, hastened the downfall of Calvinistic views in Cambridge and the Church of England generally.

Among the Cambridge verses composed on the death of Sir Philip Sidney are Latin verses by Dr. Tindall, printed Searle, p. 359, and Miles Sands, Fellow of Queens', and Greek verses by Richard Milborne, Fellow of Queens', afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. The number of men who could write Greek verses in the University must have been small at this date. When Downes' long tenure of the Greek chair (1585-1625) ended, it is mentioned by Fuller as something most wonderful that there were actually five duly qualified candidates for the Professorship! Of the Grecians at this period, Queens' College had a full share, for two of the best Greek scholars in England were Sir Thomas Smith and John Aylmer, Bishop of London, formerly Fellow. Aylmer's name will always be held in honour, for it was he who imparted to Lady Jane Grey her wonderful knowledge and love for Greek. The number of Queens' men who were then prominent in Church and State is conclusive evidence of the reputation and prosperity of the College. Besides the worthies who have just been mentioned, Queens' was one of the Colleges which could lay claim to Archbishop Whitgift, whose academic career commenced as a pensioner here, and among her members were Thomas Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph (d. 1573),

Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor (d. 1585), John Mey, Bishop of Carlisle (d. 1598), Edward Scambler, Bishop of Norwich (d. 1594), William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, then of Lincoln (d. 1608), Richard Longworth, Master of St. John's and Dean of Chester (d. 1579), Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse and Dean of Ely (d. 1589), George Gardiner, Dean of Norwich (d. 1598), Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North (d. 1595), Sir Thomas Heneage, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (d. 1594) Roger Manvers, Earl of Rutland, Ambassador to Denmark, famous as a soldier and a traveller (d. 1612), Poynings Heron, one of the commanders in the army raised to repel the Spanish Armada (d. 1595), Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the poet (d. 1604), Sir Christopher Yelverton, Speaker of the House of Commons (d. 1607), John, Lord Lumley, High Steward of the University of Oxford, a great benefactor to the University Library and to the Bodleian Library (d. 1609), William, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (d. 1597), Henry Smith, the preacher, known as "silver-tongued" (d. 1591), Dr. Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches (d. 1597), Thomas Newton, famous as a Latin poet (d. 1607), Thomas Digges, mathematician (d. 1595), Robert Bowes, Ambassador to Scotland (d. 1597). The list could be extended considerably, but the names given will suffice to show how many men of varied attainments Queens' College had among her *alumni*. Probably no Cambridge College, and certainly no Oxford College—for Cambridge, in the reign of Elizabeth, enjoyed an easy superiority—could show a more distinguished list.

A melancholy interest attaches to an endowment received in 1593. Sir Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, made over to the town of Huntingdon £40, the value of goods forfeited to him as lord of the manor of Warboys, on condition that the sum of 40*s.* be paid to a Fellow of Queens' College, being D.D. or B.D., for an annual sermon preached on March 25th, in one of the churches of Huntingdon. The forfeited goods belonged to John Samwell, of Warboys, who, with his wife Alice and his daughter Agnes, was accused of procuring the death of Lady Susan Cromwell, Sir Henry's wife, by witchcraft. The accused persons were imprisoned on Lady Cromwell's death, and Mrs. Samwell, who was a feeble old woman, being tortured in prison, confessed to everything with which she was charged. The prisoners were accordingly convicted of bewitching Lady Cromwell and other persons, and all three were hanged. A full account of the case is given by Mr. Searle, pp. 380-383. It appears that the unfortunate old woman was nearly eighty; that the first suggestion of witchcraft was made by a Cambridge physician, Dr. Barrow; that the supposed witch had been sent to Bishop Wickham, and confessed to him and two justices of the peace; and that the Judge who tried the case (Mr. Justice Fenner) tested the alleged effects himself. The terrible belief in witchcraft was not only common, but was increasing at this time. The belief was held strongly by no less a person than King James I. himself. Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 489) quotes a contemporary case, where the pretended power to exorcise claimed by a graduate of the University was exposed by Dr. Harsnet, Master of

Pembroke. But evidently Dr. Harsnet was far in advance of the time in his courageous attack upon this horrible belief. Dr. Tindall was appointed by the Privy Council to investigate a case of witchcraft in 1609 (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 13). In the annual sermon the preacher was to "preache and invaye against the detestable practise, synne, and offence of witchcraft, inchauntement, charme and sorcerye." One of these sermons was preached by the famous John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist; four sermons, preached by Mr. Naylor in 1792-95, were published under the title of "The Inanity and Mischief of Vulgar Superstition," and some account of the witches of Warboys was added. The last sermon was preached in 1812 by the "Rev. Mr. Goram," *i.e.*, the Rev. C. G. Gorham, whose views on Baptism gave rise to "the Gorham controversy." Sir Henry Cromwell had entered as a fellow-commoner July 2, 1580; Oliver Cromwell and Robert Cromwell had also entered as fellow-commoners in Jan. 1578; a second Henry Cromwell entered Aug. 30, 1600; Thomas, John and William Cromwell, April 2, 1604 ("Old Parchment Reg." 37).

On Lord Burghley's death, in 1598, the gifted but unfortunate Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was elected Chancellor. Lord Essex had been Whitgift's pupil at Trinity, and the Archbishop strongly recommended his election to the Chancellorship: "I doe not think any man in England so fitt for that office as he is." The new Chancellor shortly afterwards visited the University and stayed at Queens', where the room he lodged in was long called "the Essex Chamber." On this occasion "the pleasant comedy of 'Lelia' was excellently well

acted before him " (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," vii. 34). Lord Essex was also Earl Marshal of England, and, during his short tenure of the Chancellorship, was able to settle one of the many questions which caused constant bickerings between University and Town, viz., the question of precedence between the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor. His award was, "I do set down this judgment, as earl marshal of England and judge by my office of all places and precedencies, that the vice-chancellor of Cambridge is to be in commission before the Mayor." Cooper's "Annals," vol. ii., from which this award is taken (p. 594) afford ample evidence that Dr. Humphrey Tindall was firm in maintaining the privileges of the University against encroachments by the Town. Another member of the College, Dr. John Jegon, who became Master of Corpus, was, perhaps, the chief champion of the University in these disputes. In less than three years from his election, the brilliant Robert Devereux's career closed with tragic sadness on Tower Hill, and Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, the younger son of the great Burghley, was promoted from Lord High Steward to be Chancellor of the University.

The depreciation of the value of College property by the system of fines on the renewal of leases has been already alluded to in connexion with Sir Thomas Smith's Act. But even now that the alienation of College lands had been forbidden by law, means were found to evade this most proper enactment, and Queens' College furnished a case of evasion in 1598. The estate at Babraham was part of the benefaction of John Otware. This estate, by a lease bearing date Feb. 7,

1598, was granted to Sir Horatio Pallavicini for three lives, with a reserved rent of three guineas. Then a deed bearing date Feb. 9 was executed, covenanting that, in consideration of £200 paid by him, he should enjoy the estate in fee simple, that acquittances should be given by the College for the reserved rent, as it became due, without its being received; that at any time within a month after requisition the College should grant new leases; and that it should hand over to Sir Horatio all papers concerning the estate. The last lease granted in pursuance of this covenant was made to Thomas Minott, of Stortford, in Hertfordshire, in 1636, with the rent reserved of a peppercorn, if demanded. In the deed of sale it is said to be the intention of the President and Fellows to purchase another estate with the £200. But this was never done, and ultimately the money was spent on the building of the rooms in the Walnut-Tree Court, a very useful application of the money, so that if ill-gotten it was well spent. Dr. Plumptre closes his MS. account of the transaction as follows:

“The estate consisted of sixty acres of land and some tenements, and the price given for the purchase might perhaps at that time be a fair one. The purchaser was a courtier and great favourite of King James I., and how far this act of the then Body is to be excused on the score of Court influence, I must leave to the readers.”

King James, on his joyful progress to assume the English crown, did not come to Cambridge. But at Hinchinbrooke, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell, the uncle after whom the Protector was named, he received the homage of the University (Fuller, “Univ. of

Camb.," vii. 35-36) and there in all probability the Millenary Petition was presented to him. Soon after the Hampton Court Conference the strenuous Whitgift passed away, with *Pro Ecclesia Dei* on his lips—no unfit summary of his long and useful life. The Ecclesiastical Canons of 1604 were Bancroft's. By them uniformity was enforced on all Colleges.

"All masters and fellows of colleges and halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the Universities, shall in their Churches and Chapels upon all Sundays, holy days, and their eves, at the time of divine service, wear surplices, according to the order of the Church of England," Canon 17.

The Heads of Colleges were required to furnish certificates of the conformity of their societies with lists of the ministers who held a licence to preach. The President of Queens' made his return Jan. 7, 1605.

"According to Mr. Vice-Chancellor's appointment, I do hereby certify that the Fellows, Scholars and Students of our Colledge as usually before time, so at this present, do continue y^e conformity in Divinis Officiis, both in Surplisses and Hoods, every one according as the University Statutes do require, and also in due observation of the Communion Book."*

He appends the names of ten "ministers, who being now present at home have shewed letters of orders" (Searle, p. 393).

Early in 1607 the acting of plays in the Colleges was attended with serious disorders. The worst disturbance was at King's, where the windows of the Hall were

* This is in obedience to Canons 16 and 23, *q.v.*

broken, a gate forced, and an uproar made "by multitude of scholars and others, for the space of about two hours together" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 24). But windows were broken in Queens' too, for in the accounts appears the entry: "Item for repairing th' hall windowes after the plaies xlv^s." In consequence of these disorders a decree, inflicting banishment or suspension from degrees in the case of graduate offenders, and "correction in the schools by the rod" for *non adulti*, was published by the Heads, among them Dr. Tindall, who, if his signatures are given correctly, never seemed quite to have made up his mind how to spell his own names. George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon, was entertained by the College in this year. His visit was probably paid because his grandson Henry, afterwards fifth Earl, was in residence at the time. His Lordship's entertainment cost £4 5s. 4d. Two benefactions that deserve notice belong to this date, viz., those of Humphrey Davies and John Stoddart. Humphrey Davies gave land to found a Fellowship and six scholarships. The College compounded with his executors in 1630 for £250 instead of the land. The money was paid by instalments, but, being in Dr. Martin's hands, was sequestered by the Parliament in 1642 with Dr. Martin's own property, and so lost to the College (see chap. vii.). John Stoddart, citizen and grocer of London, founded a scholarship with a rent-charge on "the Swan with Two Necks," Lad Lane, London. Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, mentioned above, soon afterwards gave 102 volumes to the Library, and Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, gave two sums (20 marks and £20) to the Library for buying

books. Dr. Tindall himself, by his will, gave "all his books in folio which were not in the Library," which were 58 in number, as well as "the seeling and wayncoting of his chamber and lodging," which he values at £250 more than he has received. This, as already explained (p. 61) refers to the large extensions which virtually completed the Lodge in his time. He died at Ely, Oct. 12, 1614, and the lines at the foot of his monument in the Cathedral are worth quoting:

"In presence, government, good actions and in birth,
Grave, wise, couragious, Noble, was this earth,
The poor, y^e church, y^e colledge saye here lyes
A friende, A Deane, A Maister, true, good, wise."

But this is not so quaint as the inscription to his sister Ursula, who like him was buried in the Cathedral—

Ursula { Tyndall by birth.
 { Coxee by choice.
 { Upcher in age and for comfort.
 Anno Aetatis 77.

A lady's reasons for contracting a second marriage in mature years have not often been stated in such plain unvarnished terms!

Dr. Tindall's death had been long expected, and the question of his successor had been freely discussed. The choice lay between John Davenant and George Mountaigne. Seldom have two better qualified men been proposed for the Headship of a College, and seldom have their claims been more nicely balanced. John Davenant was the son of a wealthy and well-connected London merchant. He was admitted a pensioner of Queens' College in 1587. He had an elder brother,

Edward, who is highly praised as a mathematician and classical scholar, and "was a better Grecian than the Bishop" (John). When a Fellowship was first offered to Davenant his father would not allow him to accept it, "as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the Founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty." The father must have been a high-minded and honourable man; people did not often show such conscientiousness in dealing with endowments. However, on his father's death in 1597 he became a Fellow. He had been Examiner, Greek lecturer and Dean. According to the testimony of his nephew, Thomas Fuller, the Church historian,

"Dr. Whitaker (then Regius Professor), hearing him dispute, said that he would in time prove the honour of the University. A prediction that proved not untrue; when afterwards he was chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity being as yet but a private Fellow of the College."

He was appointed Professor and became D.D. in 1609, when he was 36. For a short time before his election as President he had held the College living of Hockington (Oakington), and Fuller (quoted Searle, p. 410) tells a delightful story of the future Bishop and an Anabaptist who objected to pay tithes. George Mountaigne, who was three years senior to Davenant, was also well-born. He was elected Fellow in 1592, and was praised for his acting in the *Miles Gloriosus* in the College about the same time. He was a man of ability and a highly attractive person. He was now Dean of Westminster and "was often heard for to professe, he would rather be master of that College (Queens') than

dean of Westminster." According to the story told by Thomas Ball, the pupil and biographer of the famous Puritan tutor of Queens', John Preston, Davenant owed his election to Preston's energetic zeal on his behalf. Preston was afraid of Mountaigne's Court influence, especially his influence with Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, the ruling favourite. Accordingly he planned to secure a free election. He posted horses along the road to London, and on the news of Dr. Tindall's death rode off in hot haste and addressed himself to Lord Rochester on behalf of Dr. Davenant. Rochester, ignorant that his chaplain, Mountaigne, coveted the post, was favourable, and Preston returned and had the election of Davenant made before Mountaigne had time to move. The account, whatever truth there is in it, is animated by a most manifest bias against Mountaigne, to whom Ball is very unfair. Thus he states that Mountaigne had given a goodly piece of plate to the College with the inscription *sic incipio*, but now in his anger "vowed it should be *sic desino*." But Mountaigne never interrupted his friendly relations with the College: and only four years later (1618) he founded two scholarships. Nor did his failure on this occasion in any way interfere with Mountaigne's singularly rapid promotion. He became successively Bishop of Lincoln 1617, of London 1621, of Durham 1627, and finally in 1628, the year of his death, Archbishop of York. It was a singular accident that as Bishop of London it devolved upon him to consecrate his former rival to the Bishopric of Salisbury. But while Dr. Mountaigne's memory deserves to be cleared from the unworthy aspersions of Ball, no fault need be found with the result of the election. Dr.

Davenant proved as successful a President as he was a learned divine. The College was never more prosperous than during his eight years' rule with Preston as tutor. And in balancing the claims of the two candidates for the Presidentship, one cannot help feeling that John Davenant would never have said to the King, when he was perplexed about the filling of a bishopric, "Say unto this *mountain*, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the *see*."

When Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine had visited Cambridge in 1613, Dr. Davenant had won high praise as moderator in the disputations. "The best Divine in my judgment" (says Hacket, *Life of Williams*) "that ever was in that place, Dr. Davenant, held the Rains of the Disputation." And when King James, accompanied by Prince Charles, came in 1615 the two Divinity professors, Dr. Richardson and Dr. Davenant, disputed before his Majesty, with Bishop Harsnet, the Vice-Chancellor, as moderator. Dr. Davenant had to maintain the proposition that "the Pope has no temporal power over kings," and denied the Pope's right to excommunicate kings. Dr. Richardson objected and alleged the excommunication of Theodosius by St. Ambrose. But on this the King angrily interrupted that St. Ambrose had acted most arrogantly. Dr. Richardson bowed to the King's authority: "*Responsum vere regium et Alexandro dignum. Hoc non est argumenta dissolvere sed dissecare*"; "and so sitting down, he desisted from any farther dispute." But the disputation in philosophy is still more famous. Matthew Wren, of Pembroke, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was respondent, and John Preston, of Queens', was first opponent. They had been chosen as the best talents

in the University, and the subject had been happily selected to suit the taste of a monarch who was equally fond of hunting and of philosophy. The question was "whether dogs could make syllogisms." Preston said they could. "The major proposition in the mind of a harrier is this: 'The hare is gon either this or that way': and with his nose he smells out the minor, namely, 'She is not gon that way,' and follows the conclusion, 'Ergo, this way,' with open mouth." Wren objected and distinguished between "sagacity" and "sapience." "Dogs especially in things of prey and that did concern their belly might be *nasuti*, but not *logici*." Preston was prepared with another syllogism, when the moderator, Dr. Read, interposed; but the King was delighted; he intervened in person and instanced the case of one of his own dogs that was right, when all the rest had gone wrong, marked the place, went after the others, and "by such yelling arguments as they can best understand prevailed upon a party of them to go along with him," and so succeeded. What, the King asked the moderator, could he have done better himself? He bade the poor moderator "think better of his dogs, or not so highly of himself." Preston saw his opportunity, and "desired leave to pursue the King's game, which he had started, unto an issue; but the answerer protested that his Majesties dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common law, but by prerogative." This was a delightful piece of flattery, which appealed directly to the King's foibles. But the moderator had now recovered himself and was equally adroit. He acknowledged that the King's dogs were able to outdo him and prayed his Majesty to

"consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted all these Arguments and Understandings, that whereas in the morning the reverend and grave Divines could not make Syllogismes, the Lawyers could not, nor the Physicians, now every Dog could, especially his Majesties," "and the king went off well pleased with the businesse" (Ball, "Life of Preston," 80-81).

Preston's name comes up again in connexion with the performance of George Ruggle's celebrated play "Ignoramus" before the King at Clare. The actors had been chosen from the whole University, birth, good looks and talent being considered, and amongst those selected was Morgan, a pupil of Preston's, who had allotted to him the part of the heroine, Rosabella. Preston declined to allow his pupil to take a woman's part, but the boy's guardians overruled the objection and Morgan eventually played the character. However, another member of the College, Samuel Fairclough, held such strong views on the subject of appearing in woman's clothes that he took no part in the performance. The parts were distributed thus: Ignoramus, Parkinson, of Clare; Theodorus, Hutchinson, of Clare; Antonius, Holles (afterwards Lord Holles), of Christ's; Rosabella, Morgan, of Queens' (killed at the first battle of Newbury fighting for the King); Dorothea, Norfolk, of Queens'; Surda and Vince, Compton (afterwards Earl of Northampton), of Queens'; Trico, Lake, of Clare (afterwards Secretary of State); Dulman, Towers, of Queens' (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough); Torcol, Bargrave, of Clare (afterwards Dean of Canterbury); Bannacar, Love (afterwards Master of Corpus). An analysis of this famous piece with an account of the

performance is given by Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 528-542). It occasioned much comment that some of the actors were in Orders, and a courtier, who compares the King's receptions at Oxford and Cambridge, alludes to this fact in the lines—

"Oxford had good Comedies, but not such benefactours ;
For Cambridge Bishshops whiflers had, and Preachers for
their actours."—(Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 82).

Preston had entered at King's, but not being an Eton boy he migrated to Queens'. He is stated to have been the pupil of Oliver Bowles, one of the best tutors of his day, but Bowles seems to have left Queens' before the man who was to be *the* tutor of the next period entered the College (Searle, p. 397). It was only after taking his degree that Preston became in any way remarkable. Then his abilities became widely known. Mr. Mullinger ("Univ. of Camb.," ii. 478-483) narrates, how he who had before been careless of divinity was touched and changed by the preaching of John Cotton. Under Dr. Davenant, Preston was Dean and Catechist as well as Tutor. His addresses in the Chapel, like those of Bishop Andrewes at Pembroke, attracted such crowds that it was found necessary to exclude all who were not members of the College. As a tutor he stood without a rival in popularity, and the number of men who entered under him was very large. And despite his Puritanical views many of his pupils were men of family and fellow-commoners. Preston is so conspicuous a figure in the Cambridge of that time that it may be permitted to touch very briefly on some incidents of his later career. Numerous as were his

pupils he kept a watchful eye on them all. His care is illustrated by the story told of him how, when a young fellow-commoner, Sir Capel Bedell, had fallen in love with the daughter of Dr. Newcome, commissary to the Bishop of Ely, Preston took a party of his pupils, including the enamoured one, for a few days to the country, and brought the party, without exciting any suspicions, to Much Hadham, where Sir Arthur Capel, the young gentleman's grandfather, lived. There the secret entanglement was told to the grandfather; the young baronet remained at Much Hadham, and the hopes of Dr. Newcome and his daughter were blighted. But Dr. Newcome, who lived in St. Botolph's parish, was avenged. Many who could not hear Preston in Queens' College Chapel desired to hear him elsewhere. He undertook to preach at St. Botolph's and a crowd was assembled to hear him, when Dr. Newcome, as Bishop's Commissary, forbade the sermon. The congregation protested, but Dr. Newcome remained inflexible and withdrew from the church with his family. Rather than disappoint his audience Preston defied the veto and preached "a very savoury and holy sermon." Newcome hurried off to the King, who was at Newmarket, and goaded his Majesty to take action. The King directed Bishop Andrewes to take proceedings. Preston was summoned before the Heads (among them Dr. Davenant), ordered to apologise to Dr. Newcome, which he did, and to preach at St. Botolph's another sermon, telling people that they ought to attend their own parish churches and not run gadding to sermons elsewhere. Whatever Preston thought he did not show his feelings, but preached

to the crowd, all agape for a sensation, a sermon on growth in grace and prayer as a means to growth in grace, which sent the most frivolous home in serious mood (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," viii. 6). They came to scoff and they stayed to pray. However, Preston was debarred from preaching in Cambridge without the express permission of the Vice-Chancellor, although by Buckingham's influence he was restored to the King's favour and made one of the Prince's chaplains. But Preston was soon to be moved to another College. Emmanuel was the Puritan College, and Preston was in every way a man after the heart of the Fellows of that College. Nothing could suit them better than to have such a man as Preston for Master. Their Master, Laurence Chaderton, was very old, but still wonderfully vigorous. He lived to be nearly 103. Buckingham made Chaderton's retirement easy, by pledging himself to provide for him, and gave assurance that the King would welcome Preston's election. Still, in spite of these assurances, the Fellows of Emmanuel were very uneasy. The greatest secrecy was observed, the very gates were kept locked, until the election was safely over and Preston had been chosen. Then he was escorted in procession by the members of his old College to the foundation which had chosen him as its Head, and Puritan Emmanuel unbent to unwonted feasting and rejoicing.* This was

* Preston took some of his pupils with him to Emmanuel, among them a Londoner, Chambers, a youth of ability. When wonder was expressed how rooms would be found for these men in a College already so full, "I remember," says Fuller ("Worthies, Northamptonshire"), one said, "Master Preston will carry *Chambers* along with him."

in 1622, and the date looks like a confirmation of the theory that Preston's position at Queens' largely depended on Davenant's strong support, and that when Davenant became a Bishop, Preston was perhaps not very anxious to be left without a protector in a place where "the Fellows for the most part were not his friends." One more contest and one more victory still lay before Preston after his election at Emmanuel. His admirers determined to secure his appointment as lecturer at Trinity Church, and largely increased the stipend of the office to make the post worthy of his acceptance. Trinity Church was in the gift of the Crown, and King James endeavoured to induce Preston to withdraw. But Preston had the Duke of Buckingham's support; he stood his ground and eventually was appointed to the lectureship, which he held till his death (1624-1628) (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," viii. 9).

To return to the history of Queens', Preston in his pupil's phrase was "the greatest pupil-monger in England," and under Dr. Davenant's rule the College was highly prosperous. Increased numbers led to a desire for increased accommodation. The site chosen for building was N.E. of the Chapel on the ground purchased from the Carmelites, hence the building is described as being "in the Friars." These were the buildings in the Walnut-Tree Court and the date was 1618. The cost was defrayed by employing the £200 so irregularly obtained in 1598 by the sale of the estate at Babraham, and by using £100 given about the year 1580 by John Joscelyn (formerly Fellow and Latin Secretary to Archbishop Parker) to found a Hebrew Lectureship—

[“provided alwaies that ye stipend of 5*l.* yeerly due unto the Hebrew Lecturer, and also the yeerly rent . . . which y^e Land at Babram would have yeelded unto y^e Colledg, bee payed out of the chamber-rents of the sayd building; untill such time as y^e Colledg shall purchase land of equall valor to yt which was sould away.”]

Other smaller sums, rent-fines, wood-sales, &c., make up £714 7*s.* 10*d.* The total cost of the building was £886 9*s.* The balance of £172 1*s.* 2*d.* was repaid to Dr. Davenant; £72 1*s.* 2*d.* “out of the focalia bill”; £100 in 1622. (See Searle, pp. 437–438.)

“The date 1617, inscribed on the East front, probably denotes the year in which the first stone was laid. The final payment to the architects, dated March 9, 1618, is signed by them, so that we learn that they were Gilbert Wigge and Henry Mann. The former had been employed on the second court of St. John’s College in 1602. . . . The work occupied rather less than two years. The building is a stack of brick chambers 106 feet in length. . . . It was built originally in two storeys, and a half storey with small garrets above, as shown in Loggan’s print; and it had four chambers on a floor. Having suffered from a fire it was partially rebuilt between 1778 and 1782, upon which occasion the gablets were removed, and the upper storey added” (Willis and Clark, ii. 19–20).

In 1823 the building was re-roofed, the walls repaired and embattled parapets raised on each side, under the direction of Mr. Woods, Clerk of the Works at Downing. Mr. J. W. Clark has shown that there were three studies in each of these chambers, so that when there were sixteen sets of rooms they accommodated forty-eight men.

In the same year 1618 Dr. Davenant had a memorable experience. He was one of the divines sent by the King to the Synod of Dort as deputies from the English Church. His colleagues were Dr. Carleton (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff and of Chichester) the one Oxford man among the deputies, Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney, and Dr. Joseph Hale (afterwards Bishop of Norwich), whose place was taken later by Thomas Goade of King's, while Walter Balcanqual of Pembroke came to represent the Church of Scotland. Drs. Davenant and Ward attended before the King at Royston on Oct. 8 and received his Majesty's instructions. The Synod lasted from Nov. 3rd 1618 till April 29th 1619. Its proceedings were chiefly remarkable for the arrogance of the dominant party and the unfairness with which the Remonstrants were treated. The English deputies remained unshaken in their Calvinism, but the whole tone and tenor of the Synod helped on the reaction against the prevailing tenets of the day. After a tour through the Low Provinces the Englishmen returned home. The King, "after courteously entertaining of them, favourably dismissed them," and "they returned to their several professions." . . . "Dr. Davenant, besides his Collegiate care, to his constant Lectures in the Schools" (Fuller, "Church Hist.," xv. 4). Edward Davenant, Fellow of Queens', accompanied his uncle to Holland: leave of absence was granted him by the College "and all his allowances till his return, as yf hee wer at home." This College order is dated Oct. 6th 1618 and initialled J. D. (Searle, p. 413).

In 1621 Dr. Davenant was nominated to the See of Salisbury. His promotion was due to the warm recom-

mendations of Dr. John Williams, then Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper. Williams had learnt to value and admire Davenant at Cambridge, and "being warm in favour" now secured his advancement. "Twelve years he had been Public Reader in Cambridge, and had adorn'd the Place with much Learning, as no Professor in Europe did better deserve to receive the labourer's Penny at the twelfth Hour of the Day" (Hacket, "Life of Williams"). A curious circumstance in connexion with the appointment was that Davenant succeeded his brother-in-law at Salisbury. Robert Toulnesonne or Townson, whose name stood next to Davenant's on the list of Fellows at Queens', was the son of the under-cook of the College. He married Davenant's sister, was chaplain to the King and Dean of Westminster 1617-1620, when he became Bishop of Salisbury. But he held the See less than a year and died leaving a widow and fifteen children. It was perhaps with this fact in his mind that the King charged Davenant (as he is said by Camden and Wood to have done) "not to marry." His widowed sister lived with the Bishop till her death in 1634 and, according to one unkind and perhaps untrue authority, "Bishop Davenant being invested married all his nieces to clergymen, so he was at no expence for their preferment." From this point the career of Bishop Davenant does not belong to the history of the College. It remains only to note that he was a great benefactor to the foundation. In 1626 he gave £100 for the Library, with which 130 volumes were purchased: in 1637 he gave a rent-charge on an estate in Sheppey to maintain two scholars and pay £10 a year to the Library, and the two livings of

Cheverel Magna (afterwards exchanged for Seagrave) and Newton Toney, Wiltshire. In learning and in character Bishop Davenant stands high above most of his compeers, and even those who differed widely from him speak of him with profound admiration and respect. The general feeling entertained for him is shown by the extracts from Allport's Life quoted by Mr. Searle, pp. 427-428. A Life of Bishop Davenant has recently been published by Mr. Morris Fuller, a member of the College who is descended both from Bishop Davenant and Thomas Fuller the historian. As a sample of the emoluments received at this time, the year 1621-22 may be taken. In that year the President received £5, *i.e.*, half a fellowship as stipend and £10 for commons, four Fellows received £10 in full, ten received £9, the other five sums ranging down to £5 8s. 8d., deductions being made for absence from College. £14 is allocated to the President and Fellows "for laundress and barber" ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 2).

It was Bishop Davenant's wish that Dr. Ward should succeed him as Lady Margaret's Professor, and the wish was gratified by Dr. Ward's appointment Feb. 23rd, 1622. There were persons who wished Preston to get the Professorship, and, though the Bishop did not share this wish, he appears to have desired Preston to succeed him as President, and, finding that Preston would not be elected, to have contemplated retaining the Mastership with the Bishopric. However he resigned his office as President April 22nd, 1622. The accounts contain the entries "For a dinner bestowed on my Lord of Sarisberie at his departure . . . £5 15s. 2d., For a paire of gloves bestowed on him . . . £1 18s. 0d." It

had been supposed, when Davenant was made a Bishop, that Dr. Balcanqual of Pembroke, who had been with Davenant to the Synod of Dort and afterwards proved himself a staunch royalist, would be the new President, but the King did not prevent a free election and the choice of the body fell on Dr. Mansell. John Mansell, a member of a family that "came in with the Conqueror," was elected Fellow in 1600, was in residence and held various College offices 1604-1617, when he appears to have vacated his Fellowship. Mansell was Vice-Chancellor (1624-1625) when James I. came to Cambridge for the last time in Dec. 1624. Prince Charles accompanied the King, and the Ambassadors of the French King obtained at Cambridge the ratification of the marriage contract between the Prince and Henrietta Maria. The distinguished visitors were entertained with the usual disputations, and during the King's stay "in an extraordinary commencement many (but ordinary) persons were graduated doctors in divinity and other faculties" (Fuller, "Univ. of Camb.," viii. 11). The most exciting event of Dr. Mansell's tenure of the Presidentship was the contested election for the Chancellorship in 1626. The Duke of Buckingham, who was then under impeachment by the House of Commons, was the Court candidate, but many members of the Senate, not liking the interference of the Court, resolved to support the Earl of Berkshire, the son of the late Chancellor. Among those who were most active in canvassing for the Duke was Dr. Mountaigne, now Bishop of London, but he "found his own College most bent and resolved another way to his no small discontentment." In the end the Duke was elected by

108 votes to 106, Dr. Mansell and two Fellows of Queens' supported the Duke, but the majority of the Fellows, including Edward Martin, went against him.

The Duke was as pleased as the House of Commons was displeased at this election. The House resolved to send a letter to the University to signify their dislike of the election "and require them to send some to the House to inform them." But the King signified his pleasure that the letter should not be sent, and in answer to a representation from the House replied that "concerning the Election itself his Majesty is far from conceiving it a Grievance: for he never heard that Crimes objected were to be taken as proved; or that a Man should lose his Fame or good Opinion in the World, upon an Accusation only." The dissolution of Parliament stopped further discussion. The Duke visited Cambridge, and showed himself ready to become a great benefactor to the University, especially to the Library, but Felton's dagger ended his life and his Chancellorship Aug. 23rd, 1628.

In Feb. 1628 Thomas Edwards, M.A., late of Queens', was charged before the Vice-Chancellor with having in a sermon at St. Andrew's Church preached against obedience to superiors. He recommended that in cases of doubt earthly superiors, as tutors, husbands, masters, should not be consulted but "a man in whom the Spirit of God dwells." He explained that he meant only that they should not be obeyed, if they advised contrary to the word of God. He was ordered to repeat this explanation in St. Andrew's and to send in a certificate that he had done so. This Thomas Edwards was afterwards a well-known Puritan divine and author of

Gangraena. Fuller, who knew him very well, says that he "was often transported beyond due bounds with the keenness and eagerness of his spirit; and therefore I have just cause in some things to suspect him." But Fuller himself is the most interesting person who belonged to Queens' at this time. The nephew of Bishop Davenant, he was admitted Pensioner in 1621 and took his M.A. in 1628 when he was 20. His uncle naturally hoped that he would get a Fellowship at Queens', and the President held out some hopes that he would do so. But, although no less than seven Fellows were elected just before Michaelmas 1628, Fuller was not one of them. So, in consequence of the friendship of Bishop Davenant with Dr. Ward, Fuller migrated to Sidney in 1629, "that he might be conveniently placed for the continuance of his studies, till he should be otherwise disposed of."

Three famous members of the College died at this time, viz., Sir Edward Villiers, half-brother to the first Duke of Buckingham, James I.'s favourite, Ambassador to Bohemia, President of Munster; Thomas Middleton, the dramatist; and James Ley, Baron Ley, Lord Treasurer. (See Searle, p. 459.) Another famous member of the College, Dr. Henry Butts, Master of Corpus, shewed heroic courage during the terrible plague which visited Cambridge in 1630. He was twice re-elected Vice-Chancellor in consequence. But when the King and Queen visited the University in 1632—on which occasion the "Rival Friends," by Peter Hausted of Queens', author of *Senile Odium*, was performed before their Majesties—poor Dr. Butts' mind became unhinged by the excitement and he was found hanged in his chamber

on Easter Day. Seldom has an honourable and useful life ended so sadly and tragically. On April 17th, 1630, "The Colledge broke up, so did the University, to avoid the infection of the plague dangerously spread in the towne. It was then agreed that fellows should have their whole allowance, during the time of the dissolution, whether they were absent or present," and on Oct. 29th this grant for absence was continued till the Audit (Old Parchment Register, Searle, p. 461). In July 1630 the sum of 2*s.* was expended on "pitch, tarr &c. to air the Officers and Schollars Chambers." Dr. Mansell died Oct. 7th, 1631. He left a widow and a daughter.

There is an enactment, that comes up repeatedly at this period, which is strange according to modern notions. Thus Dec. 19th, 1625, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads made a decree, reciting that, contrary to the ancient statutes of the University and Colleges, boys and men, ignorant of letters and altogether unapt to make any progress in the studies of the University; and women besides had crept within the college walls, to do those works which used to be done by indigent students to help to bear their charges, from whence great damage had accrued to poor scholars and scandal to the University at home and obloquy abroad. To check these evils it was decreed that no boys or men ignorant of letters should be permitted in the Colleges, unless they were College servants or private servants who only do their own master's work: that no woman shall be allowed to enter except as a sick-nurse or a laundress, and even then the age is specified and the number limited. (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 182.) During the plague of 1630 Mr. Mead writing from Christ's says,

"We have taken three women into our Colledge . . . Two are Bedmakers, one a Laundresse. I hope the next Parlement will include us in y^r generall Pardon." Evidently "the poor scholar," who "valeted" his well-to-do comrade, was considered to be in danger of being ousted by men and women from the town. The Heads were anxious to preserve "the poor scholar" from extinction, and by strictly limiting the amount of menial service employed from outside the College took pains to preserve for the "poor scholar" the slender emoluments which he enjoyed. The porter, the cook, the steward "were all alike on the foundation and generally recruited from the subsizars" (Mullinger, ii. 399). At Queens' College an order was passed Sept. 17th, 1636, "that the Beere Butler shall bee henceforward always a schollar of this Colledge, to continue in that place upon his good behaviour till hee bee M^r. of Arts, or have time for that degree, and not longer" (Old Parch. Reg. 130).

CHAPTER VII

THE ROYALIST PRESIDENT

"Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

BUTLER, *Hudibras*, i. 1.

President: Edward Martin, 1631-1662: Herbert Palmer intruded 1644-1647; Thomas Horton intruded 1647-1660.

ON Dr. Mansell's death Edward Martin was elected seventeenth President of Queens' College, October 16th, 1631. His whole-hearted loyalty to the Church of England and to the King, with the sufferings which his devotion entailed upon him in the troubled years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, makes him a romantic figure. Little is known of the first part of his life. He appears to have been a member of a family of scholars from Lloyd's statement ("Memoires," p. 461), "that he had six ancestors in a direct line learned before him, and six libraries bequeathed to him," to have belonged to a Cambridge family, and to have been about fifty when he was elected President. He entered the College in 1605 as a sizar, held a scholar-

ship 1608-9, took the M.A. degree 1612 and was admitted Fellow 1617. For the next ten or eleven years he was busily employed in College work and held the living of Hockington (Oakington) 1625-30, when he was preferred to Conington. From 1628-31 he held an appointment, which perhaps shows that the views he entertained in later life were fully developed at this date and which certainly tended to confirm him in his opinions, viz., the post of Chaplain to William Laud, first as Bishop of Bath and Wells, then as Bishop of London. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London licensed books to be printed, and their Chaplains examined works intended for the press. In his capacity of Chaplain to the Bishop of London, Martin in 1630 licensed a book entitled "An Historicall Narration of the Judgment of some most Learned and Godly English Bishops, Holy Martyrs and others, concerning God's election and the Merits of Christ's death." The purpose of this book was to prove that the Reformers were Arminians and that Arminianism was the doctrine of the Church of England. The book gave great offence, and the notorious Prynne in particular took pains to make Bishop Laud acquainted with the history of the treatise and to get the work withdrawn. Failing to move Laud, Prynne procured the suppression of the book by the Archbishop Abbot. Bishop Laud admitted to the Primate that his Chaplain had done ill to license the book, but said that "he had given him such a ratling for his paines, that he would warrant His Grace he should never meddle with Arminian Books or Opinions more." This the Archbishop re-

ported to Prynne, but Prynne was dissatisfied. He said that Martin had preached Arminianism at St. Paul's Cross, and that, whereas he should be censured by the High Commission, he was promoted by the Bishop to a great living and to the headship of Queens' College. The great living was the Rectory of Uppingham, to which Martin was instituted October 12th, 1631. If any influence was required, no doubt Bishop Laud could easily have induced the King to nominate his Chaplain for election to be President. However, he was unanimously elected, and there is only Prynne's unsupported statement that the choice was due to Bishop Laud's influence.

The new President took the D.D. degree by royal mandate in March 1632, when the King and Queen visited Cambridge. Some of the persons recommended for degrees were unsatisfactory to the University, and the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Butts is accused of having carried some degrees—Dr. Martin's in particular—"with much disorder and violence." But this rests on the statement of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who is as unfair to men of Anglican views as Prynne himself. (See Searle, pp. 466-469.) On the occasion of the royal visit two plays were acted, "The Rival Friends" by Peter Hausted of Queens' and "The Jealous Lovers" by Thomas Randolph of Trinity. Although by Dr. Butts' influence precedence was given to Hausted's play, Randolph's was far the more successful, and the failure of "The Rival Friends" was one of the causes which contributed to Dr. Butts' derangement. But amongst those who acted in Hausted's comedy was John Pearson, son of Robert Pearson, a former Fellow of Queens', who

was admitted sizar June 10th, 1631, but just after this, March 28th, 1632, migrated as scholar to King's (Searle, p. 509). This was the illustrious Bishop of Chester, "Pearson on the Creed." It is something that so great a name should have adorned the boards of the College, even though, as in the case of Whitgift and Fuller, other foundations can lay claim to a share in the glory reflected by Pearson's sober judgment and vast learning upon Cambridge and the Church of England. Hausted was Dr. Martin's Curate at Uppingham and brought trouble upon himself and annoyance upon his Rector by a sermon preached before the University in 1634. His object appears to have been to inculcate a reverent and orderly service, but he foolishly attacked other nations, notably the Dutch, as too slovenly. In consequence he was stopped, brought before the Vice-Chancellor and suspended from preaching before the University. The facts of the case are set forth in a letter of Dr. Martin's to William Bray, Chaplain to Laud, now Archbishop (Searle, pp. 511-512).

Laud, as Archbishop, wished to visit the University. The question of his jurisdiction was raised, and the Heads, except Drs. Beale, Martin and Sterne, the three royalist sufferers of the Civil War, submitted to the Archbishop that the University was "exempt from the metropolitanical jurisdiction and visitation of the See of Canterbury." Oxford also questioned the Archbishop's right, and the matter was referred to the King in Council, who after hearing counsel for the Universities and the Primate determined in favour of the Archbishop's claim (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 276). The visitation never took place, but in preparation for it a paper

was forwarded to the Archbishop and endorsed by him "Certain Disorders in Cambridge to be considered of in my visitation," which is supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, or Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus. The paper enumerates "Common Disorders in the University" and "Speciall Disorders in y^e Church and Chappelles": it ends "in the other Colleges, St. Joh. Qu. Pet. Pemb. & Jes. they endeavor for order and have brought it to some good passe. Yet here for Apparel and fasting night suppers are they faultie still, which with any other thinge amisse will be willingly represented" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 283). The Colleges, which thus are noted as being better than the rest, are those where the known principles of the Masters would strive for "decency and order."

When Sylvester Adams, Fellow of Peterhouse, was brought up in 1637 for a sermon before the University, in which he maintained the necessity of confession to a priest, Dr. Martin was one of the Heads who saw no need of insisting on a recantation. There were several meetings, and in the end there was a slight majority against the sermon, but no recantation seems to have been made. Anthony Sparrow, of Queens', afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich, also justified the confession of sins to priests. Being impugned for this by the Vice-Chancellor, he went to London and got his sermon licensed by the Archbishop's Chaplains and printed. "He hereupon returned in triumph to Cambridge, to the great grieve and discouragement of the Protestant, but extraordinary encouragement of the Popish party there." This is Prynne's version, but another account is that the sermon was printed "at

the request of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads " (Cooper, " Ann.," iii. 288).

The whole " High Church " movement in the University was intensely distasteful to the Roundhead party. The changes which had been made, such as placing the Holy Table close to the east end of churches and chapels, engaged the attention of both the Short and the Long Parliaments. It was definitely ordered in April 1641 that no students should be forced to subscribe to Canon 36, and in September of the same year the House of Commons made orders that the Colleges should remove the Communion Tables from the east end of their Chapels, should take away their rails and level the chancels. They were to remove all crucifixes, " scandalous pictures " of any of the persons of the Trinity or of the Virgin, to abolish all basins, tapers and candlesticks from the Tables, and to give up bowing at the name of Jesus and turning towards the East. In these orders it is easy to see the intense Puritan spirit which brought Archbishop Laud to the scaffold. When the Primate was put upon his trial, one of the charges made against him was of having countenanced superstitious observances and practices in the University, and among the witnesses called to prove this against him was the learned John Wallis, afterwards Fellow of Queens' and Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, who deposed that the " innovations " were " brought in since the Archbishop's time by means of Byshop Wren, Doctor Cosins, Dr. Martin and others, all Canterburies great favorites " (Cooper, " Ann.," iii. 289). At the moment when the orders of Parliament were issued, the Royalists in Cambridge were strong enough to disregard

them, but events were marching on apace, the seizure of the five members in Jan. 1642 made the Civil War inevitable, and days of terrible trial and distress were in store for the Cambridge Colleges. It would seem that coming events had cast their shadows before. The entries during the preceding years had steadily fallen off and the number of residents had seriously diminished. We have seen that in 1621 the members of Queens' College numbered two hundred and thirty. In 1641 a poll tax was assessed on the Colleges: the numbers at Queens' had fallen to one hundred and twenty-four and the total of the University to two thousand and ninety-one (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 315).

The "Associated Counties," of which the town of Cambridge was the headquarters, exercised so powerful an influence on the issue of the Civil War, that the University is commonly lost sight of in the Parliamentaryism of East Anglia as a whole, and it is erroneously supposed that Cambridge was far less loyal than was actually the case. The position of the University and the prevalent feelings of the Eastern Counties have been carefully described by Mr. Kingston in his most interesting volume "East Anglia and the Great Civil War." As Mr. Kingston shows, Cambridge was quite as loyal to the King as Oxford. But the two Universities were very differently situated. "Oxford was the Mecca of the Royalists and Cambridge the headquarters of the Associated Counties." The side taken by the Eastern Counties generally in the war is to be explained mainly by two considerations. In the first place a fervent Puritanism prevailed. In the second place there were comparatively few great families, con-

nected with the Court and influencing their followers and dependants, resident in that part of the country. And Cambridgeshire in particular has never boasted a long list of great county families, such for instance as Hertfordshire has always been able to show. Of the gentry too not a few were Parliamentarians. Such names as Cromwell, Manchester, Montague, Desborough, Sir Dudley North, Sir Samuel Luke ("Hudibras"), represented some of the best blood of the Eastern Counties. There was blood as good on the other side. But the Royalists were quite outnumbered, and therefore for the most part unable to move. When an opportunity presented itself, they were ready enough to shew themselves, for example Lord Capel (a Queens' man, Preston's pupil Sir Arthur Capel), Sir C. Lucas and Sir G. Lisle at Colchester. It is a mistake to suppose that the leaders of East Anglia all fought *à outrance* in the spirit of Cromwell. They were for the most part "Moderates," to the last they respected the person of the King, and their object was to reform religion rather than government. Such was the intruded President, Herbert Palmer, who was a well-born gentleman. Altogether the Eastern Counties viewed the struggle, mainly if not entirely, from a religious standpoint. What roused them was the "No Popery" cry : the Ship-money excited little real discontent. It will be seen that the University was unfortunately placed. The town of Cambridge was strategically important. It commanded the Eastern Counties and was the advanced post of the Parliament, and as such it was strongly garrisoned and fortified. "Committees" were constantly sitting, a watchful eye was kept upon the Royalist

gownsmen, and they were kept down with a strong hand from the first.

To return from these considerations to the course of events, on March 12th, 1642, the young Prince, afterwards Charles II., was received by the University with such enthusiasm, that two days later (March 14th) the King, "then departing from the Parliament," paid a flying visit with the Prince on his way from Newmarket to Huntingdon. The University received him with such vehement acclamation as more than compensated any lack of enthusiasm in the county and the town. On parting the King promised the Vice-Chancellor: "Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whatsoever becomes of me, I will charge my sonne upon my blessing to respect the University." When the University Printer, Roger Daniel, issued the King's Proclamation of Array, the Parliament sent down the University members to see that its own Proclamations were read, charging them to procure certificates from the Heads of Colleges of the reading of the same (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 325). One of the clergy who refused to read the Parliament's Proclamation was Daniel Chandler, of Oakington. When he came to the words "the House of Commons" he threw the paper away, "What have I to do with the House of Commons?" and hastened off to join the King. When the King wrote from York, in June 1642, asking for contributions for his defence against the Parliament, which he would repay with 8 per cent. interest, "as soon as it should please God to settle the distractions of the Kingdom," Dr. Martin was foremost in furthering the King's cause. Dr. Martin himself lent £100 and ten of the Fellows (amongst them Sparrow, the future President

and Bishop) £85, a very large sum, as will appear when it is considered that St. John's, with the royalist Dr. Beale as its Head, sent no more than £150. In July 1642 the King asked for the College Plate, promising to return the Plate or its value when the troubles were ended. Queens' College, "by the unanimous act and consent of Master and Fellows," promptly packed and despatched the Plate, sending in all 591 ounces of gilt plate and 923 ounces of white plate. The complete list will be found in Searle, pp. 518-520: some of the most interesting items of the articles of gilt plate are Dr. Perne's bowl with a cover, Bishop Jegon's bowl with a cover, the Earl of Huntingdon's bowl with a cover, Dean Tindall's tankard, the Earl of Lincoln's bowl with a cover weighing 109 ounces. Of the white plate John Mansell's four pots, Bishop Mountaigne's *Poculum Caritatis*, Thomas, John and William Cromwell's flagon, Arthur Capel's and Thomas Fairfax's (grandfather of the Parliamentary Commander) tankards, and Bishop Chaderton's bowl. Other Colleges sent their plate about the same time: and, although Cromwell, member for Cambridge, and his brother-in-law Walton, member for Huntingdon, lay in ambush near Lolworth to intercept the plate, the greater part of it was conveyed in safety to the King at Nottingham. Part, however, was seized by Cromwell and its value is stated at £20,000, but, as the portion which reached the King and which constituted the larger part of what was sent, is valued at £8,000 or £10,000, the amount cut off by Cromwell must have been exaggerated. It is curious "to picture the grim Oliver lying in ambush with his disorderly band of peasants on foot" to catch the flagon presented

by his forbears "Thomas, John and William Cromwell," and there can be little doubt that, had it been possible to consult those gentlemen on the subject, they would have greatly preferred that their flagon should go to the King rather than come into the hands of their rebel kinsman. But Cromwell was wonderfully active at this crisis. He seized the Castle: the town was committed to his charge (Aug. 17th, 1642) in conjunction with the Mayor and three Aldermen, with power "to disarm all Popish Recusants, and all other dangerous and ill-affected Persons, who have opposed the Orders and Proceedings of Parliament, or endeavoured to oppress the People, by the Commission of Array, or otherwise" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 331).

In all the Royalist efforts of the Colleges the Heads of Queens', St. John's and Jesus, Drs. Martin, Beale, and Sterne, had been prominent. And together with Bishop Wren they attempted to execute the King's Commission of Array. Accordingly they were seized by Cromwell on Aug. 30. They were treated

"with all possible scorn and contempt, especially Cromwell behaving himselfe most insolently towards them, and when one of the Doctors made it a request to Cromwell, that he might stay a little to put up some linnen, Cromwell denyed him the favour; and whether in a jeere, or simple malice told him, that it was not in his commission."

This was an ominous beginning, and what followed was of a piece with it. It was ordered that the Bishop of Ely and the three Doctors should be conveyed to Blackwall, and from thence by water to the Tower of London. The three Heads, tied on their horses, were

paraded through the villages which they passed, the people being called out to abuse and revile them. They were not taken by water, but "led captive through Bartholomew Faire and so as farre as Temple Barre," suffering every possible insult and indignity on the way. The Archbishop was already in the Tower, but the Bishop of Ely and the Cambridge Heads were debarred from seeing or speaking to him. After some days confinement the three Heads petition that, as they are forced by their imprisonment "to neglect both their owne private affaires and the publique dutyes of their severall places" and are put to ruinous expenses, "they shall be released upon their bonds to appear whenever called for." Their appeal was referred to the Committee for the safety of the Kingdom (Sept. 20th); no reasons were stated for their committal, although they petitioned for such statement (Sept. 27th); and their position was aggravated by the order "that all Malignants and Delinquents that were sent for should bear their own charges" (Dec. 2nd). On Dec. 26th a petition was read from the three Colleges, representing the injury suffered by them in the long detention of their Heads and urging that the presence of their Masters in Cambridge was specially necessary at that season for the Audit, the choice of Scholars and officers and other important business. This also was referred to the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom, and nothing was done for the prisoners, until on Jan. 11th, 1643, Sir Philip Stapleton, who had been Martin's pupil at Queens', procured that they should be transferred to Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street. Before they were transferred they had to pay the officers

of the Tower £80 a-piece, and were thought to have got off cheaply. At Lord Petre's house they were kept several months. They could obtain neither trial nor release, "unlesse to free their bodies they should ensnare their souls by loanes of money to be imployed against the King, or take impious Oathes or Covenants."

On April 1st, 1643, was passed the Ordinance for sequestering the estates of "malignant" clergy and Dr. Martin's private property was seized, together with the £250 received by him for the College from the executors of Humphrey Davies (p. 133). In Aug. 1643 the unfortunate Masters were put on board a small coal-ship at Wapping, and confined under hatches with three or fourscore persons of quality, so that many succumbed to the ill-treatment. The survivors it was proposed to sell as slaves to Algiers or the West Indies! This would be thought incredible were not the evidence clear. Calamy indeed treats the statement as a fiction and advises Walker to expunge the statement from the "Sufferings," but the passage quoted by Mr. Searle (p. 485) from Vicars' "Jehovah-Jireh or God in the Mount" "renders the barbarous actions above related less improbable." Finally, after eight days in this "Little Ease," Dr. Martin was with others transferred to the Bishop of Ely's house at Holborn, where he remained a prisoner for five years.

Meanwhile, outside his prison, the President's enemies were active against him. In pursuance of the powers granted to Cromwell against Popish recusants and malignants, spoilers were at work. The University complained that "certain men had commenced to sequestrate the libraries and goods of some of the

masters," and, although on the representation of the Earl of Holland, Chancellor of the University, Parliament ordered, March 4th, 1643, that no outrage or violence should be offered to the Colleges or their members, property was pillaged and libraries plundered. Apparently Dr. Martin's library was taken at this time. All his preferments were likewise stripped from him. He figures in the "First century of Scandalous Malignant priests": his views are misrepresented and his aims grossly distorted. (See Searle, p. 487.) On March 13th, 1643, he was removed by the Earl of Manchester from the Presidentship "for opposing the proceedings of Parlyament and other scandalous acts in the University of Cambridge," a form which afforded some amusement to the sufferers, "as tho' Opposing had referred to other Scandalous Acts as well as to the Proceedings of Parliament." Dr. Martin was a determined Royalist and a strong High Churchman, but it is hardly necessary to say that there was nothing "scandalous" in his life and actions. He was a high-minded man of strict life and unselfish aims, who would fain see others living as he lived himself.

Dr. Beale after this got exchanged and joined the King at Oxford, but Dr. Martin and Dr. Sterne remained in durance. Dr. Martin appears to have been summoned, by the Archbishop's request, to give evidence about the licensing of the "Historicall Narration," the circumstances of which the Primate himself was unable to recall. Archbishop Laud asked that Drs. Martin, Haywood and Sterne should be allowed to attend him before his execution; this was refused, but in the end Dr. Sterne was permitted to go accompanied by Stephen

Marshall and Herbert Palmer. Thus Archbishop Laud asked for the Royalist President of Queens' and got the intruded Parliamentarian in his stead. When Ely House was given up to wounded soldiers, Dr. Martin was to have been sent to the Marshalsea, but again his old pupil, Sir Philip Stapleton, contrived to arrange that with Dr. Sterne he should be returned to Lord Petre's, where he continued to the end of his captivity. He drew up a clever but sarcastic petition, unfortunately too long to be quoted here, in June 1647, which he begged the Earl of Manchester to present to the Lords (Searle, pp. 496-503). Shortly afterwards Drs. Martin and Sterne were brought before the Committee of the House of Commons for Prisoners. Dr. Sterne was released on bail, but Dr. Martin remained in confinement, until he escaped by the help of Mr. Welden, a sequestered Leicestershire parson. This was about Aug. 1648, and for nearly two years he lived in disguise under the name of Matthews, at Thorington, Suffolk, with Henry Coke, a younger son of Sir Edward Coke, who had been a fellow-commoner at Queens'. In 1650 he was captured by some soldiers from Yarmouth, taken to London and committed prisoner to the Gate-house, Westminster, by Bradshaw, President of the Council. During Bradshaw's absence, by means of Colonel Walton, a member of the Council, he was released, and returning into Suffolk, remained there under his own name until he went beyond sea. He lived for the most part at Lord Hatton's house in Paris for seven or eight years before the Restoration. He was distinguished during this time of exile for his unshaken fidelity to the Church of England. He would join neither Calvinists nor

Papists, but consorted with a body of his brother Churchmen, and, taunted as he had been with Popery, refused, it is said, overtures from the Church of Rome, saying "He had rather be a poor son of the afflicted but primitive Church of England, than a rich Member of the flourishing but corrupt Church of Rome." (See Searle, p. 505.) In a letter to Mr. Richard Watson, written in 1660 shortly before his return, Dr. Martin speaks of his long sufferings in the following terms:—

"But in answer to your very necessary interrogatories: I can answer but for one, who having been habituated these eighteen years, to nothing but prisons, ships, wanderings and solitude, hath alwaies been very well satisfied with one Meal a day, and at night a Crust of Bread, and a Cup of any Drink. That I most desire everywhere is Cider, or, in defect of that, water (if it bee anything neer so good as here at Paris) for I drank no wine for thirteen years together, before I came out of England" (Searle, p. 507).

From this narrative of Dr. Martin's long and cruel imprisonment it is time to return to the fortunes of the College of which he was President. The Colleges were in a deplorable condition during the year 1643. The work of fortifying Cambridge was pushed on. The town was full of the troops raised by Cromwell from the Associated Counties. The *Querela Cantabrigiensis* complains that "the soldiers have seized and taken away materials of our intended buildings of the worth of £300 or £400. . . . have pulled down, demolished and defaced five or six fair bridges of stone and timber," i.e., the bridges of St. John's, Trinity, Garret Hostel, King's and Queens'. Some Colleges were turned into

prisons for Royalists, others were converted into barracks for Parliamentary troops, "who took the beds from under the scholars." Heads and Fellows were seized, students were frightened away, the University ceremonies were pretermitted from fear of violence, books and furniture were carted off, "blankets," "leather chairs" and "fire-irons" were scheduled, *e.g.*, the books of Mr. Coldham of Queens' are set down at £10. The Royalist verses of Francis Quarles do not greatly exaggerate the sentiments of the Parliamentary troops, as reflected by their actions in Cambridge.

"We'll pull down Universities
Where learning is profest,
Because they practice and maintain
The language of the beast ;
We'll drive the Doctors out of doors,
And all that learned be,
We'll cry all arts and learning down,
And hey, then up go we."

Parliament demanded a loan of £6000 from the University, and when, the Vice-Chancellor being a prisoner, such Heads as were still left in Cambridge declared that it was "against true religion and good conscience for any to contribute to the Parliament in this war," the officers of the Parliament took the money by force from the bursars and from the tenants of the Colleges. Even Lord Manchester, the Parliamentary general, supported the petition of the University against sequestration; "he doubts not that your Lordships in your wisdoms will think it better to endeavour the reforming of the University rather than to hazzard the

dissolving of it." The Parliament then issued orders protecting the University and Colleges from the sequestration of their property, and directed the Earl of Manchester "to make them orthodox."

It had been ordained in September 1641, as already stated, that in all churches and chapels altars and stone tables should be demolished, that the Communion Table should be removed from the east end, the chancel levelled, all crucifixes, crosses, pictures, &c., taken away. At first the heads of the several Colleges were left to execute this order in Cambridge, but as they were not zealous enough a more active agent was employed. In December 1643 the infamous William Dowsing was commissioned by the Earl of Manchester to remove all vestiges of popish superstition from the churches in the Associated Counties. What he did may be given in the words of his own journal, in which he recorded his proceedings :

"At Queens' College, December 26th, we beat down about a 110 Superstitious Pictures besides Cherubims and Ingravings, where none of the Fellows would put on their Hatts in all the time they were in the Chapell, and we digged up the steps for three hours and brake down ten or twelve Apostles and Saints within the Hall" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 365).

The "ingravings," as Mr. Searle says, p. 526, probably included some of the brasses on the slabs in the floor.

On January 22nd, 1644, was passed an Ordinance for Regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing of Scandalous Ministers in the seven Associated

Counties (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 369-370). By this the Earl of Manchester was empowered to examine all members of the University and also the clergy, to enforce the Solemn League and Covenant upon them, and to constitute Commissions of Inquiry; and again, February 5, both Houses advised that the Earl should exercise special care that the Covenant be taken in the University. Accordingly, Lord Manchester arrived, accompanied by his Chaplains; he took up his quarters at Trinity College, and the Commission of Inquiry sat at the "Bear," in Market Passage. On February 24 he demanded the Statutes and a list of the members of the different Societies, with a statement whether they were resident or not; on February 26 notice was given to the Heads to order all members of their Colleges to be in residence on March 10; and on March 11 he sent for the names of all who had left or returned to Cambridge since February 24. On the same date, March 11, Mr. Coldham, Fellow of Queens', was directed to send him the notes of his sermon preached at Great St. Mary's on the previous day. Then the work of "reforming" the Colleges and "making them orthodox" began in earnest. On March 13 Dr. Martin, who had been a prisoner since the preceding August, was formally deprived of the Presidentship of Queens'. On April 3 the Fellows of Colleges were summoned to appear at the "Bear" on the 5th, or else, unless a good reason were given for their non-appearance, he would proceed to eject them. Accordingly, some sixty Fellows of Colleges were ejected on April 8, among them Anthony Sparrow, Samuel Rogers, Richard Bryan, and Heigham Hills, of Queens', for non-residence and not

returning to Cambridge on summons. On April 9 Ambrose Appleby, John Coldham, Edward Natley, and Edward Kemp were removed for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant. On April 11 Thomas Marley, Vicar of Eversden, was deprived for refusing to take the Covenant; on June 1 Daniel Chandler, Vicar of Oakington, Daniel Wycherley and Jasper Whitehead, for refusing to take the Covenant; on August 26th, 1644, George Bardsey, Thomas Cox and Michael Freer, for non-residence and not appearing on summons; on September 26 William Wells and Arthur Walpole, for refusing to take the Covenant. One Fellow, Dr. Gamaliel Capel, was declared *non-socius* by the Society itself on August 2 for immorality (Searle, p. 549), and then the Royalist President and all the eighteen Fellows had been removed. All the scholars also were deprived—in fact, a clean sweep was made of the whole foundation. No doubt in part through Dr. Martin's influence, Royalist views were very strong in the College. No other College, except Peterhouse, suffered at the hands of Lord Manchester's Commission to anything like the same extent. Thus it does not appear that at Trinity Hall or St. Catharine's any of the Fellows were ejected; at Corpus only three, at King's only six were removed (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 374-379).

And now that the College had been purged of its Royalist inmates, men of views more consonant with the Parliament's were thrust into their places. The person chosen to succeed Dr. Martin as President was Herbert Palmer, a member of the College, a gentleman and a scholar. He was the son of Sir Thomas Palmer,

of Wingham, near Canterbury, had been carefully educated at home by an accomplished father and a very religious mother, learnt French almost as soon as he could speak, and could, as he afterwards proved, preach in French as well as in English. He entered St. John's College as a fellow-commoner, but, "being denied his degree at St. John's on account of personal deformity," migrated in 1622 to Queens', where he was elected Fellow in 1623 by a Royal mandate from James I. It is curious that Edward Martin was one of the minority who refused to obey the mandate and voted for Warner Marshall. In the life by Samuel Clarke ("Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines") Herbert Palmer is said to have taken many pupils, to have been a most exemplary tutor, most extraordinarily solicitous about his pupils' welfare, and, in particular, about their religious instruction. He had private means, and was very liberal in money matters. While on a visit to his brother he preached at Canterbury and was so acceptable that he was asked to take a weekly lecture at St. Alphege's. His uncanonical method of performing the service brought complaints against him, but he was continued in the lectureship by Archbishop Abbot, preached to the Huguenots at Canterbury in French, and was presented by Laud, then Bishop of London, in 1632, to Ashwell, Hertfordshire, an appointment which the Archbishop cited at his trial as an instance of his impartiality. Herbert Palmer vacated his fellowship shortly afterwards (Searle, pp. 532-535). At Ashwell he continued to show his love of teaching, and took the sons of noblemen and gentlemen into his house as pupils. He was

called in 1643 by Parliament to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, acted with great wisdom as one of the Assessors, and was one of the favourite preachers of the Parliamentarians. Palmer was one of a sub-committee of five appointed to draw up the Directory of Public Worship. His share was the catechising; "yet though he was the best catechist in England, his paper on it was not liked." Altogether he was a cultivated, strenuous and high-minded man. Whatever may be thought of some of his views, he stood high in aims above most members of his party, and no one would have regretted more sincerely or spoken out his mind more frankly about later events than Herbert Palmer, had he lived to see the end of the War and what followed it (see the quotations given, Searle, pp. 544, 545). But his restless, fiery spirit wore out the puny body, and he died September 1647, aged 46.

Herbert Palmer, then, was appointed President of Queens' by the Earl of Manchester and installed by the Earl in person in the College Chapel April 11th, 1644. The following "Solemne promise or protestation was made by the Master in the Chappell at the time of his admission or installment":

"I, Herbert Palmer, being called and constituted by the Right Honorable Earle of Manchester (who is authorised thereto by an ordinance of Parlyament) to be Master of Queenes Colledge in the University of Cambridge, with the approbation of the Assembly of Divines now sitting at Westminster, doe solemnly and seriously promise in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, that during the time of my continuance in that charge, I shall

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faithfully labour to promote piety and learning in myselfe, the fellows, schollers and students, that doe or shall belong to the said Colledge, agreeable to the late solemn National league and covenant by mee sworne and subscribed, with respect to all the good and wholesome statutes of the said Colledge of the University, correspondent to the said Covenant, and by all means to procure the good, welfare, and perfect reformation both of that Colledge and University so farr as to me appertaineth.

“HERBERT PALMER.”

“April 11, 1644.”

The Society, at the date of Mr. Palmer's admission consisted of the ten Royalist Fellows, who had not yet been ejected and who were mostly non-resident. There were no scholars, probably there were hardly any students and little or nothing was done in the College. A sizar, a pensioner and a Bible-clerk were admitted (Searle, p. 540). But on June 11th Lord Manchester appointed nine new Fellows, John Wallis, Samuel Sillesby, John Wells, Nathaniel Ingelo, John Smith, John Hoare, Samuel Glover, William Ames and William Whittaker. Of these Hoare and Glover were members of St. Catherine's, all the other seven came from Emmanuel. The “Puritan College” was naturally regarded with great favour by the Parliament, and Emmanuel men got at this time at least six Headships and innumerable Fellowships. The most famous of them Benjamine Whitecote, who was made Provost of Kings', set a fine example by allowing his dispossessed predecessor, Dr. Collins, “a yearly stipend out of the dividend allotted to the Provost.” It may also be remembered to his credit that he never took the

Solemn League and Covenant (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 377). However, the Emmanuel men sent to Queens' were either more robust Roundheads or less scrupulous, for they all subscribed the Covenant and made before Lord Manchester's Committee a promise similar to that undertaken by the intruded President, with the addition of a clause, whereby they engaged themselves to "yield unto Mr. Herbert Palmer, Master of this Colledge, all such respect and obedience as the Statutes of the said house and laudable customs of the said University do require to be given to the Master." Upon this they were admitted Fellows. Two of them were really distinguished men of whom any College might be proud, viz., John Wallis and John Smith. Wallis, one of the best mathematicians of the time, has been already mentioned as a witness against Archbishop Laud, from which it may be inferred that his "Puritan" views were very strong. He became Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford in 1649, was one of the earliest Fellows of the Royal Society, and, dividing his long life between his mathematics and his clerical duties, died at the age of 85 in 1703. John Smith was the Cambridge Platonist," the author of the famous "Select Discourses," published after his death by Dr. Worthington, in 1660, and highly praised by the late Matthew Arnold, as being "much the most considerable work left by the Cambridge Platonists and deserving of a place in English literary history." John Smith was Hebrew Lecturer and Dean. "He was," says Dr. Plumptre, "a very useful member as Fellow and Tutor and of great reputation for his learning, exemplary conduct and singular sweetness of temper." He died Fellow Aug.

7th, 1652, and was buried in the College Chapel, Dr. Patrick, then Fellow, preaching his funeral sermon. John Smith was also a great benefactor to the Library, to which he left about six hundred volumes. All his contemporaries unite in praising alike his great ability and his charming personal qualities. John Smith must indeed be reckoned among the men of the past whom one would wish to have known. But what a pity that he took the Covenant !

The College now recommenced its life. On June 20th eleven students, most of them Oxford men, were admitted ; on June 21st the first College meeting was held and Samuel Sillesby appointed Vice-President ; on June 24th a fresh election of officers took place. Two more Fellows were appointed by Lord Manchester on Sept. 13th, viz., Francis Barkdale of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, and John Jackson of St. Catharine's ; on Dec. 20th, two more Magdalene Hall men, John Pypard and Samuel Rayner ; on January 2nd, 1645, George Griffith, and on January 4th Nathaniel Debanke and John Watson of Emmanuel. This makes a total of sixteen appointed by Lord Manchester, but as John Wallis vacated his Fellowship by marriage in March 1645 the number of actual Fellows was soon reduced to fifteen. After this by an Ordinance of Parliament, Feb. 13th, 1646 (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 398), the College was allowed to fill up the vacancies made by ejection, and three Fellows were elected in January, four in August 1647.

Fuller's complaint ("Univ. of Camb.," viii. 40) of the character of these intruded Fellows, that "short of the former in learning and abilities they went beyond them

in good affections to the Parliament," as if in the language of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* "the garland had been torn from the Head of Learning and placed on the dull brows of Disloyal Ignorance," is not wholly true of the new body at Queens'. Besides Palmer himself, Wallis and Smith, Ingelo was a cultivated man and a highly skilled musician. The most marked exception appears to have been Pypard, who was "found disorderlie at a taverne in disorderlie companie at eleven of the clocke of the night" and admonished. The new President was an able and energetic Head. His personal character inspired respect even in those whose views differed most widely from his own. His influence and weight with his party brought him at once a leading position in the University. When on April 11th, 1645, the Heads preferred a petition to Parliament (which was granted), praying for exemption from public contributions, taxes and impositions, Mr. Palmer was the spokesman of the deputation (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 386). And when the Town endeavoured to upset the privileges of the University, Mr. Palmer was one of the Heads who again successfully petitioned Parliament on the subject. The high praise given to Palmer by Clarke in his *Life* (Searle, p. 551) for his management of the College, was on the whole well deserved. He took especial pains for the advancement of religion and piety, and under his rule the Fellows were as zealous and as diligent as the President himself. He was not less anxious for the promotion of learning, improved the Library and was very liberal to poor scholars.

"Indeed his resolution was, that so long as he was hindered from residing constantly amongst them, by reason

of his attending on the Assembly at Westminster, he would not be a gainer by the place ; but whatsoever profits he received, more than would defray the charges of journeys and other expenses occasioned by it, he would bestow some way or other for the good of the Colledge."

The College orders of the time attest the general care of the new Society. There were to be two "common-places" weekly in the Chapel and all resident M.A.s were to take their share of these ; the College servants were to be looked after "to see if they have understanding in religion" ; an "Ethicke" lecture was to be delivered daily ; and an examination was to be held for scholarships ; candidates for Fellowships were to be publicly examined ; and, though the Prayer-book was abolished and the Directory for the Public Worship had been set up, provision was made for Divine Service in the Chapel (Searle, pp. 554-555). One of the first persons admitted to the College, as a sizar, after Palmer was made President, was Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Patrick in his Autobiography ("Univ. Lib." Patrick Papers, quoted Searle, pp. 541-542) describes the condition of the College under Palmer.

"I found myself in a solitary place at first ; . . . there were about a dozen scholars, and almost half of the old Fellows, the Visitors at first doing no more than putting in a majority of new, to govern the College. The other rarely appearing were all turned out for refusing the Covenant, which was then so zealously pressed, that all schollars were summon'd to take it at Trin. Coll. (where Lord Manchester had his quarters). Thither I went and had it tendered to me, but God so directed me, that I

telling them my age—eighteen years—was dismiss'd and never heard more of it—blessed be God.

“I had not been long in the College before the Master, Mr. Herbert Palmer, took some notice of me, and sent for me to transcribe some things he intended for the press; and soon after made me the College Scribe, which brought me in a great deal of money, many leases being to be renew'd. It was not long before I had one of the best Schollarships in the College bestow'd upon me, so that I was advanced to a higher rank, being made a Pensioner. But before I was Batchellor of Arts this good man dy'd, who was of an excellent spirit, and was unwearied in doing good. Though he was a little crooked man, yet he had such an authority, that the Fellows reverenc'd him as much as we did them, going bare, when he passed thro' the Court, which after his death was disus'd.

“I remember very well that being a member of the Assembly of Divines, he went oft to London; and sometimes stay'd there a quarter of a year. But before he went he was wont to cause the Bell to be toll'd to summon us all to meet in the Hall. There he made a Patheticall Speech to us, stirring us up to pious Diligence in our studies, and told us with such seriousness as made us believe, that he should have as true an account from those he could trust of the behaviour of every one of us in his absence, as if he were here present to observe us himself. This he said we should certainly find true at his return. And truly he was as good as his word, for those youths whom he heard well of, when he came back to College, he sent for to his Lodgings, and commended them, giving books to them that were well maintain'd and money to the poorer sort. He was succeeded by a good man, but not such a Governor.

After a short illness, in which his deportment "was holy and heavenly," and he prayed that "God would provide a faithfull man for Queens' College," Herbert Palmer passed away in Sept. 1647, and was buried in the new church at Westminster (Christ Church), of which he had been in charge since its completion. (A list of his works will be found Searle, pp. 546-547.) Thomas Horton B.D., formerly Fellow of Emmanuel, was by free election of the Society chosen to succeed him. Thomas Horton, son of Lawrence Horton of the Mercer's Company, had been (1638-1640) minister of St. Mary Colechurch, London, a donative in the gift of the Mercer's Company, he was Professor of Divinity in Gresham College, one of the twenty-eight Triers or "Commissioners appointed for approbation of publique preachers," and had recently been appointed preacher to Gray's Inn. In 1649 he took the degree of D.D., and was chosen Vice-Chancellor in the same year. In the Easter-term of 1651 he resigned the Preachership of Gray's Inn and married. His marriage, by the Statutes of Gresham College, should have vacated his Professorship there, but he had sufficient interest, first with the Committee of Parliament for reforming the Universities, and afterwards with Cromwell as Lord Protector, to get dispensations.

At the time of Horton's election the University was beginning to settle down again. By the end of 1648 the normal life of the University may be said to have been resumed. The walks were laid out again, bridges rebuilt (the bridge near Queens' College was rebuilt by the Corporation, Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 425), buildings repaired, money unearthed, and the students returned to their avocations. Thus in the accounts appear such

items as "for setting up y^e organs in y^e Parlour (Combination-room), £11 6s. 7d.," "for a Kath. peare tree wee set in y^e Orchard, 3s. 0d.," "a bush. and a halfe of strawberryes and seedes, 5s.," "Christmas boxes (1656), 11s. 6d.," "given away to Coll. servants for their Chr. boxes (1658), 10s. 6d." It is clear that the last thing the Parliament desired, once their arms were triumphant, was to estrange the University. On the contrary they were anxious to satisfy and conciliate it, that they might boast the support of Cambridge as a set-off against the Royalism of Oxford. Hence it was that in March 1648 a sum of £2000 was voted by the House of Commons towards building and finishing the University Library, and a further sum of £500 for buying a collection of books, "in the Eastern languages of very great value, late brought out of Italy," for the Library (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 421). Again in April 1650, by the Act for further provision for ministers and other pious uses, £2000 per annum was allocated out of the seized tithes for the maintenance of the Heads in the Universities, whose incomes were found to be insufficient, now that Headships were no longer held in combination with Deaneries, Canonries and the like. From the statement then drawn up it appears that the value of the Presidentship of Queens' was £68 3s. 3d. It was proposed to add an augmentation of £50, and so make the value £118 3s. 3d. (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 432).

Thomas Horton, like his predecessor, was a favourite preacher with the Parliamentarians, and the influence which he enjoyed with his party was a qualification for the post which he had now been elected to fill. He was prominent in the various movements of the time.

When Visitors were appointed for the Universities in September 1654, Dr. Horton was one of the Cambridge Commissioners (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 461). When the University petitioned against the erection of a new University at Durham in April 1659, Dr. Horton was one of the five delegates then appointed to exhibit the petition to Richard Cromwell (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 473). And he was not devoid of scholarship, but could write a well-turned set of Latin verses. Verses were written by him on the conclusion of the peace with Holland, 1654, on the death of Oliver Cromwell, 1658, and on the Restoration of Charles II., 1660. These last are given by Mr. Searle (p. 562).

To secure the Republican form of government Parliament ordained in 1649 that Heads, Fellows, graduates and officers of the Universities should subscribe the "Engagement." The form prescribed was, "I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or House of Lords." It was ordered that no person should be admitted to a degree or bear any office in the Universities, who had not taken this Engagement. In the following year (1650) the Committee for regulating the Universities was empowered to eject all who refused to make this promise, and to place other able and fit persons in their room (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 435). The first sufferer under this order was Dr. Rainbow, Master of Magdalene, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. Dr. Rainbow appeared before the Committee and declared that he could not conscientiously take the Engagement, though he would undertake to live quietly under the Government. But

this was not considered satisfactory, and Dr. Rainbow was deprived. There is a most interesting letter written at this juncture by William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, to his brother. He describes the pressure put by the Committee at the Bear upon members of the University to force them to the Engagement.

“It seems the gentlemen think that their victories resolve our cases of conscience to their advantage; and that it is but to rout the coward Scots, and all our arguments, are answered. But I hope God will enable us to let them see they are deceived; and to teach them that swords and pistols, though they may overthrow kingdoms, yet alter no principles in divinity.”

Two Fellows of Queens', Jackson and Hore, who had been put in by Lord Manchester in 1644, were deprived November 14th, 1650, for refusing to take the Engagement, and Thomas Hunt and William Gore, both members of the College, were appointed by the Visitors in their stead. William Gore was an intimate friend of Simon Patrick's, who had become a Fellow in 1649 and in 1652 preached the funeral sermon of the incomparable John Smith. Perhaps the most eminent person who refused the Engagement was the Chancellor of the University, Lord Manchester himself, who after having ejected and intruded so many persons was, November 27th, 1651, deprived by the Committee of his office. In his room a member of Queens' College was appointed Chancellor, viz., Oliver St. John, who had entered the College as Preston's pupil in 1615, had been Hampden's counsel in the Ship-money case, had sat in Parliament, had been Solicitor-General, and was now Chief Justice

of the Common Pleas. Oliver St. John held the Chancellorship until the Restoration, when Lord Manchester was reinstated, and St. John resided in retirement at Long Thorp, Northamptonshire. St. John is one of the very few members of the College who were ranged against the King. John Goodwin was a strong Republican, and there are a few Puritans, like Thomas Edwards and Samuel Fairclough, but they are lost in the crowd of Royalists. Among the Royalists are Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, killed at Hopton Heath, John Towers, Bishop of Peterborough, Arthur Lord Capel, one of the bravest of Charles' commanders, Dr. Robert Cottesford, Rector of Hadleigh, whose sufferings for the King have made him famous, Sir Hamon le Strange, Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Laurence Bretton, Henry Lord Hastings, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Thomas Cawton, and Colonel Richard Neville. Altogether the members of the College were almost as unanimous as the Fellows in their devoted loyalty to the King.

Bishop Patrick's account of himself throws light on the state of things at this time.

"Being Master of Arts I bent my studies chiefly to Theology, and the manner of those times was for young men to preach before they were in Holy Orders, and the first sermon I preached was at Okeington, April 6, 1651. . . . After this I had occasion to go to London, and being bound by the Statutes of the College to enter into Holy Orders when I was two years Master of Arts, I knew no better than to go to a Classis of Presbyters, who then sat at London, and was examined by them, and afterwards received the imposition of their hands. This afterwards

troubled me very much, when not long after I met with Dr. Hammond upon Ignatius' Epistles and Mr. Thorndike's Primitive Government of the Church, whereby I was fully convinced of the necessity of Episcopal ordination. This made me enquire after a Bishop to whom I might resort, and learning that Bishop Hall lived not far off from Norwich of which he was Bishop, thither I went with two other Fellows of our College and a gentleman (Mr. Gore, with whom I had contracted a great Friendship), as a companion and witnesse of what we did. There we were received with great kindness by the Reverend old Bishop who examined us and gave us many good exhortations, and then ordained us in his own parlour at Higham about a mile from Norwich, April 5, 1654" (Searle, p. 566).

The College orders show that the Chapel Service was maintained, and if the words are to be understood strictly, that the Prayer-book was still used, but probably the inference would be hazardous: "December 19. 1648. It was determined by the Master and major part of the Fellows, that chappell should bee observed onlie according to statute, notwithstanding anie decree to the contrarie."

"From an entry in the Old Parchment Register made in Dr. Horton's time, it appears that the strenuous assertor of liberty and enemy of arbitrary power, Oliver Cromwell (like many others who have supported that character *when out of power*), was far from being the most indulgent to liberty, or a strict observer of the rights of men when *in it*, but even followed the example of the House of Stuart and of former Princes, in sending his Mandates for the Election of Fellows, &c. The Entry is as follows:—Resolved by the determination of the major part of the Fellows, that Mr.

Lausun be not admitted Fellow upon the Mandate of my Lord Protector, till further addresses made to his Highness in that behalf, for as much as they are not satisfy'd in the condition mentioned in the sayd mandate."

So Dr. Plumptre in his MS. He concludes that, as there is no mention of the President in the order, he had no share in it. But the order is in his handwriting, so that it is hardly safe to infer this. John Lawson, the person for whose election the mandate was sent, had been admitted pensioner 1648, B.A. 1652, M.A. 1656. He was afterwards a distinguished physician, Treasurer of the College of Physicians 1692, President of the College of Physicians 1694.

The Old Parchment Register records a curious order of slightly later date, October 4th, 1658, viz., that "it was ordered by the Master and the major part of the Fellows, that the two gilded candlesticks be changed for other plate and a colledge signet." Naturally, as nearly all the plate had been sent to the King, the College could have had little at this time. Still the order gives an impression that things could not have been very flourishing when the order was passed, and this impression is confirmed by an order of January 14th, 1653, to reduce the number of Fellows to seventeen, the profits of the other two to go to the College, till it should be decided otherwise.

At the approach of the Restoration Dr. Horton began to trim his sails to catch the new breeze. He contributed, as did John Wilson, James Spering and N. Wragge of Queens', to the Cambridge Verses which celebrated that joyful event. There is not much of the true Roundhead ring in his lines.

*"Sic tandem, Rex magne, redis, properasque recursu
Sperato populum conciliare tuum.
Nec poteris aliter, cum turbida cuncta fuissent,
Teque absente diu turbidiora forent," &c.*

On May 26th, 1660, the House of Lords ordered that the Earl of Manchester be admitted to the exercise of his Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, on June 1st the Chancellors of the Universities were directed to give order that all the Statutes in the Universities be put into due execution, and on June 4th that the several Colleges in the said Universities shall be governed according to their respective Statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their Headships, Fellowships, or other offices relating to the several Colleges or Universities shall be restored (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 479). On Aug. 2nd, 1660, Dr. Edward Martin was restored to his Mastership after his long deprivation, and Dr. Horton on receiving Lord Manchester's warrant for Dr. Martin's re-instatement quietly retired. But he was still holding his Professorship at Gresham College and obtained a fresh dispensation from Charles II. to enable him to retain it. In March 1661 when the King's commission was issued for the Savoy Conference, Dr. Horton was nominated as one of the assessors on the Nonconformist side. But according to Baxter, "he never came among them." However occasion was taken to apply to the Crown to vacate his Professorship. George Gifford, who had been chosen Professor in 1656 but had been set aside by the Protector's dispensation, now laid his case before the King. In consequence Dr. Horton's dispensation was

revoked May 26th, 1661, Mr. Gifford was re-chosen by the Trustees and ordered by the letters of revocation to be admitted into possession of the Professorship. Horton was likewise silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. But he afterwards conformed and was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Vicarage of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate Street. If Baxter's statement is correct that "he had seen Dr. Horton give the Lord's Supper to the greater part that sat," Horton's conformity was not very strict, but it was sufficient to keep him in possession of St. Helen's until his death in 1673. John Wallis, who had been his pupil at Emmanuel, published in 1679 "A Hundred Select Sermons upon several Texts" with some account of Dr. Horton's life. Dr. Wallis speaks very highly of his former tutor. No doubt Horton was a man of mark and ability, but in character he does not bear comparison with his Parliamentary predecessor, Herbert Palmer, any more than with the Royalist, Edward Martin, who resumed the Presidentship on his retirement.

At the Restoration Dr. Martin returned to England and was reinstated in his Mastership, Aug. 2nd, 1660, by a warrant from the same Earl of Manchester who had ejected him, and "who (says Dr. Plumptre) after having alleged the Doctor's scandalous acts as the ground of that proceeding, now sets forth that he was informed that he was wrongfully put out of his Mastership." When he had been restored Dr. Martin entered into the Register after the warrant for his expulsion the warrant for his restoration with the following note in his own hand, one of the most beautiful hands that man ever wrote.

"Aug. 20, 1660.

"Hucusque ab anno 1643 Martii 13mo., Cantabrigia a Perduellibus et Latronibus occupata, Musae suis sedibus et domiciliis pulsae sunt; omnia tam sacra quam prophana exinanita, publicata et populata: ipsa statuta et quibus nitebantur sacramenta universa explosa sunt et interdicta: Praesidens insuper, socii, scholares et quicumque sub habitu scholastico bonis literis operam navantes ad unum omnes rebus suis omnibus spoliati aut in exilium aut in vincla et ergastula sine ulla causae dictione missi sunt. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium conferat Lector praecedentia cum subsequentibus, autographa cum autographis. Nolumus enim gravius quicquam dicere quam quod Adversariorum calamo exciderit."

Edvardus Martin, Praes.

As a statement of the treatment of the University generally and the sufferings of Queens' College in particular at the hands of the Parliament and its agents, this note, burning with the deep feeling of the writer, is not a whit too strong. But, in Dr. Plumptre's words,

"the impartiality of an historian does not permit me to proceed without observing that the outrages and injuries here complained of by Dr. Martin are to be imputed to those at that time in the supreme power of the nation, and the agents employed by them; not to either the Masters or the Fellows they had placed in the College. These, though intruded indeed contrary to Law and Statute, yet do not seem chargeable with misconduct in the exercise of their power, either in the government of the College or the management of its affairs. On the contrary many good rules for the improvement of its government were made while they were in possession, and much attention seems

to have been paid by them to the preservation of discipline and good order. The only abuse I have heard, or read of, laid to their charge, is the wasting of the College Woods, and no proofs in a pretty exact examination of its books and papers have occurred to me to justify that accusation."

By the date at which Dr. Martin's note was written the College had been fully reconstituted. Michael Freer, one of the ejected Fellows, had been the first to obtain restitution.

"Whereas Michaele Freer, Master in arts and Fellow of Queens' Colledge in Cambridge hath been wrongfully ejected from his fellowship for refusing to take ye ingagement, these are to require you forthwith to restore to his sayd fellowship and seniority therein, and that from henceforth hee enjoy all rights and priviledges and profitts thereunto belonging. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand this 27th day of June 1660, in y^e twelfth yeare of ye reigne of our soveraine Lord y^e King.

E. Manchester.

"To ye master and fellowes of Queenes College in Cambridge."

Michael Freer had been ejected in 1644 for non-residence and not appearing on summons (p. 172), not in 1650 for refusing to take the Engagement. However he was not likely to quarrel with the form of restitution used, as it brought him back five weeks earlier than any of his brethren. He resumed residence and entered upon College work at once; as early as July 3rd two pupils were entered under him. Arthur Walpole was restored August 2nd, Edward Kemp

August 3rd (Searle, p. 573). And now that Dr. Martin had returned, he set to work to reconstitute the society on the principles laid down for him by the Chancellor's letter.

"Reverend S^r.

"By virtue of an order from y^e Kings Maj^{tie} directed to me for y^e confirmation of fellowes and schollars in theyr respective preferments and allso of authority given me by y^e Lords assembled in Parliament to restore persons heretofore ejected, These are to require you to take care not to remove any from being fellowes or schollers in Queens' College that are in places vacant by death or other incapacities, and likewise yt none be removed from being fellowes or schollers till those places be filled which are allready void or may immediately (be) made void by voluntary resignations, and if such vacant places shall not be enough for the reception of all who are to be restored, then to make roome for y^e rest by y^e removall only of so many of y^e juniors as shall be necessary. Thus with my kind respects to you I rest.

"Your friend to serve you,

"E. MANCHESTER."

"From Warwick House,
the 13th of August,
1660."

This was a moderate and reasonable proposal for the reconciliation, so far as possible, of the interests of the ejected Fellows with those of the present occupants. Three of the deprived Fellows—Freer, Walpole, and Kemp—had been already restored by the Chancellor. Three more—Richard Bryan, Samuel Rogers, and Ambrose Appleby—who had also been ejected, appear to

have reclaimed their Fellowships, and had their claims admitted. Thus the Society, as legally constituted, consisted of the President and these six Fellows. Thomas Edwards and John Davenant had been elected to Fellowships the very day before Dr. Martin's arrest in 1642, but had never been admitted. Their claim came next. John Davenant now declined the Fellowship; Thomas Edwards was admitted August 20. Of the remaining Fellows, James Speering and Daniel Nicols had been elected in the Mastership of Mr. Palmer; Andrew Pascall, John Wilson, Zachary Cradock, James Code, Thomas Belk, Richard Wind, Joseph Kelsey, Robert Sayer, Phineas Fowke and John Newberry (super-numerary) had been chosen in the time of Dr. Horton. All these were now re-elected and re-admitted, taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and the oath prescribed by the Statutes, in place of the Covenant and the Engagement which they had previously taken and made. This was due to Dr. Martin's wish that these men should have as good a legal title as the older ejected Fellows. He did not consider that Lord Manchester's permission constituted a full legal title, and therefore called together the old Fellows, who had been ejected and now restored, "who chose every man of them regularly according to the Statutes." Even the ejected Fellows were all re-sworn on re-entering into their Fellowships. When these formalities had been duly performed, and the College was thus legally reformed, Dr. Martin wrote: "*Divina igitur Ope, Misericordia et Providentia, Collegium hoc e captivitate quadem Babylonica ereptum, integris et legitimis suis membris constituitur. Aug. 25, 1660.*"

Dr. Martin was restored at least to the living of Conington, was appointed one of the managers of the Savoy Conference, and was elected Proctor for the Diocese of Ely for the Convocation of 1661 (Searle, p. 516). When Dr. Henry Ferne was promoted to the See of Chester, Dr. Martin was preferred to the Deanery of Ely. He was instituted March 21st, 1662, and being ill at the time, was installed by proxy April 25, but died only three days later, and was buried in the College Chapel. Thus there is a strange similarity between the destinies of the Royalist President and his predecessor of a century earlier, the accomplished Dr. William Mey. Both suffered deprivation, both lived to be restored, both survived their restoration just long enough to have their merits recognised by promotion, and then passed away from the scene of their chequered existence.

Dr. Martin at any rate lived long enough to accomplish one piece of work which lay very near his heart, viz., the restoration of the Chapel after the fanatic iconoclasm of William Dowsing. The cedar for wainscoting the east end was given by the President's tried friend, Henry Coke, in 1661. President Palmer's legacy of £53 was devoted to the Chapel. Dr. Bryan Smith gave £5 per annum for the use of the Chapel, and an organ was re-introduced.

The draft of a petition to Parliament in Dr. Martin's own handwriting is worth quoting, because it gives strong and characteristic expression to the old Royalist's feelings on the subject of the sufferings of the College and himself.

“Most humbly sheweth,

“That whereas their whole Corporation of Master and Fellowes were every man ejected and banished thence for refusing to take the Scotch League and Covenant, and their places fill’d with such strangers as had never beene students in that College, nor ever understood the state of any other; and were all of them moreover discharg’d from all oathes, and locall statutes of the College; and sworne every man to the Scotch League and Covenant, and to regulate all things agreeably to the same; all which Vastation and Calamity (the like whereof no other College in England by God’s great mercy and goodness ever suffer’d) appears to this day in the Register book under the hand of the Authority of that temporary new foundation; together with an acknowledgment of our wrongfull ejectments; by which meanes the whole College stock is entirely consum’d and lost: the woods and timber upon the grounds fell’d and sold without any account: the Covenants of Leases alter’d; rents extinguished; Royalties alienated (which should have belong’d to the maintenance of the Chappell, and God’s service and work amongst us) the very situation in a great part let out to lease; and the College itselfe so ruined in edifices and otherwise, that we are in no wayes able to maintaine it, together with the Composition of the Founders and Allowances of Fellowes and Schollars.

May it therefore please the Right Honorable High Court in compassion of our singular and miserable Case and Condition, that these Amendments may be added to the Act for confirming of College Leases, that no Lease made by those strangers in this College since the yeere 1644, containing a longer or greater terme or other or less beneficiall covenants or conditions for the Coll. than were used in leases for the same lands or

tenements before the yeere 1644, And that no lease of any such houses or lands or Royalties, which before the said yeere 1644 had never been let by the said Coll. or if let, yet had beene renewed again at their owne cost, be confirm'd, but declar'd utterly void.

“And y^r Humble Pet^{rs} shall ever pray, &c.”

“This petition was drawn up by Dr. Martin after his return, but never presented to the Parliament,” no doubt because the Bill of 1660 contained a clause similar to that desired (see Cooper, “Ann.,” iii. 489).

Dr. Martin enriched the Library by a present of thirty volumes, oddly enough the same number as had been given by Herbert Palmer. A list of them is given in the manuscript account of donations to the Library, in the hand of Richard Bryan, who has preserved much of the information about Dr. Martin's sufferings in exile, with the following heading:—

“Musæum Dr^{is} Edvardi Martin, huius collegii præidentis doctissimi juxta et prudentissimi, in nuperis Ecclesiæ tempestatibus tum in vinclis, tum liberi, domi peregreque Confessoris invictissimi, et per aliquot (proh dolor) dies Eliensis Decani, Bibliothecam hanc nostram his libris adauxit.”

A number of other books were added to the Library “to balance all his accounts for the Library,” to which it appears Dr. Martin owed £42 10s. 9d. (Searle, pp. 577-588.) A finely-illuminated manuscript of the “Soliloquies of St. Augustine” in the Library was formerly in the possession of Dr. Martin.

It might have been thought that Dr. Martin's long sufferings would move even his opponents to compassion. But this was not the case. He was doubtless

stern and unyielding in the assertion of his principles, and this feature of his character perhaps provoked an animosity which a more conciliatory temper might have disarmed. However, since in Mr. Searle's words (p. 580) "Neal (in his "History of the Puritans") is most ingenious in his attempt to vilify the character of Dr. Martin," it is only fair to quote Lloyd's estimate of him (Mem. 461-63, quoted by Searle, p. 581), which is careful and just :

"his parts, as his nature, inclining to Solidity, rather than Politeness, he was for the exact Sciences, Logick and Mathematicks, in his Study, as he was for strict Rules in his Conversation. His exact obedience to publick establishments in his own person raised him to a power and trust to see them obeyed by others, being incomparably well skilled in the Canon, Civil and Common Law, especially as far as concerned the Church in general, and in the Statutes of the University of Cambridge in particular."

Lloyd sums up his account with an inscription :

*Edvardus Martin, S. Th. Dr. Cato sequioris
seculi, qui nihil ad famam,
omnia ad conscientiam fecit.
Rigide pius vir, et severe
Justus ; sibi theatrum, omnia
ad normam exigens, non
amplius ambivit quam ut
sibi placeret et Deo.*

Edward Martin may be described in two words as *semper idem*.

"It is but justice to his memory to observe," writes Dr. Plumptre, "that whatever difference of opinion there may

be respecting the propriety and rectitude of his principles, yet all must agree that he gave the most unequivocal and indisputable proofs of his sincerity in them. The College books furnish sufficient proofs of his abilities, of his knowledge and taste in classical learning, of his attention to the duties of his office, and of his faithful discharge of them."

Poor Edward Martin, he was buried "without any monument or memorial," yet surely such a life as his needs no tombstone panegyric, for his every deed proclaimed him to have been "faithful unto death."

CHAPTER VIII

ELECTION BY ROYAL MANDATE

"The King can do no wrong."

Presidents: Anthony Sparrow, 1662-1667; William Wells, 1667-1675; Henry James, 1675-1717.

THE subject of royal mandates for the election of Heads, Fellows and Scholars has been mentioned incidentally in the earlier history of the College. The Queens, who were the Foundresses and Patronesses of the College, perhaps not unreasonably thought themselves entitled to issue letters of recommendation, which were tantamount to a command for the election of the person recommended. The same privilege had been exercised by Anne, Queen of Richard III., and, as she was Patroness of the College, in her case also something might be said in extenuation of the practice, provided it were confined within due bounds. Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., however, did not formally take the position of Patroness, but still seems to have thought that as Queen she had some right of nomination in 'the Queens' College'; and if we may judge from the request preferred by the College through Sir Thomas Smith for the Queen's protection in the reign of Henry VIII. (p. 90), the President and Fellows were not adverse to

allowing the Queen, if not the King, some rights of patronage and consequent privilege. However, the whole question of royal interference reached a climax in the reign of Elizabeth. We find the Heads petitioning the Chancellor, the great Burghley, against the gross evils of a system of royal nomination, which set aside the claims of merit in favour of persons whose only qualification was the possession of influence at Court. Even so consistent an exponent of the doctrine of passive obedience as Andrew Perne is found refusing to elect to a Fellowship a person so put forward for election. The protest of the University checked the system for the time, but it revived again. Herbert Palmer owed his Fellowship to a mandate from King James, and Protector Cromwell had issued letters for the election of John Lawson. If Cromwell thought himself entitled to act in this way, it is hardly a matter of wonder that the House of Stuart after the Restoration resumed the custom of an earlier date. And as a matter of fact the three Presidents whose names stand at the head of this chapter were all elected by royal mandate.

On the death of Dr. Martin there were two competitors for the Presidentship, whose claims were nearly as well balanced and whose careers were almost as distinguished as those of John Davenant and George Mountaigne had been fifty years earlier. Anthony Sparrow, b. 1612, had been elected Fellow in 1633, had been at different times Dean, Bursar, Hebrew and Greek Prælector and was deprived in 1644; Simon Patrick, b. 1626, became Fellow in 1648, and Vicar of Battersea in 1658. His Fellowship was vacated Jan. 18, 1658. Thus, Sparrow was considerably the senior of the two, and now that

the Headship was vacant the seniors supported Sparrow and the juniors Patrick for the office. The day appointed for the election was May 5th, 1662. The Fellows assembled in the Chapel, the Statute was read and the *Veni Creator Spiritus* recited. Then (three scrutinies being allowed by the Statute) the election was proceeded with, Richard Bryan, B.D., Vice-President, standing in scrutiny. The five senior Fellows voted for Dr. Sparrow, "an antient member of our society and known to be a constant loyall subject to the King and true to the Church." Some others then voted for Mr. Patrick, but before five of them had written their votes the Senior Fellow broke off that scrutiny, produced the King's letters commendatory for Dr. Sparrow and read them in the presence and hearing of the whole Society. A statement, drawn up by Dr. Sparrow's supporters, found among the MSS. of Archbishop Sancroft, who was then Master of Emmanuel, continues the narrative in these words.

"After these (letters) were read, we went to a second scrutiny, and the seniors writt as before for Dr. Sparrow, some others for Mr. Patrick : but before they had written so many suffrages for Mr. Patrick, as had been given for Dr. Sparrow, the senior Fellow broke off that scrutiny and read His Majesties Mandate for the electing Dr. Sparrow. After that, the seniors againe according to their Duty writt their suffrages for Dr. Sparrow, and the Senior Fellow, seeing that others were disobedient to his Majesties command, broke off that scrutiny, Dr. Sparrow having then two suffrages more than Mr. Patrick. After this the senior Fellow pronounced Dr. Sparrow Master or President *virtute Regii Mandati*. The truth of this we do attest by

the subscription of our hands, ready to confirm it by oath, when required. Ambrose Appleby, Edward Kemp, Richard Bryan, Sen. Fellows."

"The Mandate being published to the society before the election was made, Dr. Anthony Sparrow claymes the right of the Presidentship or Mastership of Queens' Colledge by virtue of that Mandate. For the Statute of the Colledge for election, being made by the King's sole power and never confirmed by Act of Parliament, may, when he pleaseth, be abrogated, and by the same reason be suspended for a time, and *de facto* hath usually upon emergent occasions been suspended or abrogated. And being so, the society hath no power to contradict his Majesties Authority. And therefore the Mandate being for the election of Dr. Sparrow, the society had no power to chuse any other for that time; and if they did, that election was void. The seniors and some others did in obedience to the King's command elect and admitt the said Anthony Sparrow."

With the facts as here stated Dr. Patrick's own account (Autobiography 41-45 quoted Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 479-499) sufficiently agrees. The Bishop narrates how he heard the news of the vacancy and that the major part of the Fellows wished him to be elected; he had prayed that God would direct the issue as should be most beneficial to the place of his education. He was desired to come to the College,

"and on the fifth of May word was brought me to Trompeton (Trumpington) within a mile of Cambridge, that I was legally chosen by the majority of the fellows, but another admitted, contrary to the statutes. For thus the election was managed. The senior fellow went up to the Com-

munion table, and read the statute, and invoked the Holy Ghost to direct their choice, and they were sworn to choose him whom they knew most worthy. Then he read a letter from the King recommending Dr. Sparrow to their choice, and standing in scrutiny, the fellows came up one by one, and in a paper wrote their suffrages (which I have still to shew); and when he saw that eleven of nineteen had wrote for me, he snatched up the paper, and read a mandamus from the King to choose Dr. Sparrow. They told him he should have produced it sooner, for now it was too late, another being chose by the major part of the fellows, before they knew the King's mind. But the old man, one Mr. Brian, pronounced Dr. Sparrow to be chosen by the King's authority and admitted him. I came to the college when this was done, and staying one night with my friends returned to London, to advise what was to be done in this case."

The supporters of Mr. Patrick were naturally not satisfied. Whatever the rights of the Crown in the matter might be, no one will doubt the justice of the criticism, that, if the election was to be by mandate, Mr. Bryan "ought to have produced it sooner." As Dr. Sparrow's position was called in question, the King sent down a commission to the Vice-Chancellor, the two Divinity Professors and the Provost of King's to convene the new Master and the Fellows on a fixed day (May 12) in the College Hall, and there first to confirm the election and admission of Dr. Sparrow, and then to suspend the Fellows who had voted for Mr. Patrick, from all their rights and privileges, excepting their chambers and the liberty of attending Chapel, till the Vice-Chancellor and his assistants and the Master of the

College should certify their hopes of their better behaviour.

In Cambridge there was no further opposition to Dr. Sparrow, and he remained in undisturbed possession of the Mastership. But Mr. Patrick acting on the advice of his friends was moving in London. He applied for a mandamus for admission as President in the King's Bench on May 9, which was not granted by the Judges. The application was renewed May 12—the day of the commission in Cambridge—and this time the application was successful. However, as no return was made to the writ of mandamus, further proceedings were necessary. Bishop Patrick shall tell his own story.

“On the 22nd of October I was summoned to appear before some commissioners, whom the King appointed to hear our business. I was advised by some hot persons not to go. But both I and the fellows who chose me appeared on the 30th at Worcester house, before the Lord Chancellor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely and others, whose names I have forgot, where I was thought to speak very pertinently in my own behalf. And the Lord Chancellor, after some sharp words, bade us bring what friends we pleased with us the next time they met to examine the business, and they should see whether they did not do us justice. But on the 3rd of November, when we appeared again, they were all shut out: and I having then thought fit to entertain counsel, when I came to call Serjeant Keeling to go along with me, he told me he was ordered at that hour to wait upon the King at the council table. So I was forced to desire leave I might plead my own cause as well as I could; which was granted, and some of

the fellows had permission to speak, who made it so evidently appear that I was duly chosen, that the counsel on the other side had nothing to reply, but that they were fellows only by the King's grace and favour, who sent a mandamus that all should keep their fellowships at the restoration who were not in sequestered places. To which Dr. Cradock answered, that it was true his Majesty had sent such a mandamus, but Dr. Martin the Master said this was not sufficient to give them so good a title as he desired they should have ; and therefore called all the old fellows together, who had been rejected and now restored, who chose every man of them regularly, according to the statutes, and admitted them fellows. At which the Chancellor said, ' Well then, he is legally chosen ; but will he yield nothing to the King ? ' I humbly told him I had nothing to yield, but if they pleased to put me in possession of that to which they acknowledged I had a right, they should see what I would do. Upon which he was angry, and bade all our names to be taken and set down in writing, that we might be noted as a company of factious fellows ; and then bid us withdraw ; and we heard no more of this commission, by which we were heard and nothing determined. I have not set down here a great many strange things that were said at this hearing, because I reverence the memory of that great man (the Lord Chancellor, the great Lord Clarendon) who hath deserved highly of this nation. His intention was only to discourage me from proceeding in my action in Westminster Hall, which I plainly signified I would pursue ; though I did not decline their judgment.

" On the 10th (of November) I was told that my counsel was taken off ; and when I went to him to know the truth, he freely confessed he had received instructions to meddle no more in my business, which was moved again by another

person on the 27th of November in Westminster hall. But after a long attendance there, for two years or more, I found it was to no purpose; for after three arguments by Sir William Jones, Sir Thomas Raymond and another, the judges were divided; two being of opinion the mandamus did lie, and I ought to be admitted, the other two were against it; so that it was to be an exchequer case before the judges, who it is likely would have been equally divided. Therefore I let it fall, being settled in a better place, wherein I hope I did more good than I should have done there."

The "better place" to which the Bishop refers is the living of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, to which he was appointed in 1662. He won the affection of his people by his devoted ministrations to them during the plague. Afterwards Simon Patrick was successively Prebendary of Westminster, Dean of Peterborough, and Bishop, first of Chichester (1689) and then of Ely (1691). He lived until 1707, and fully deserved his high reputation for learning and piety. The Church of England had few abler champions even at the time of "*clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi*." Among his works were "Christian Sacrifice," "The Devout Christian," "Jesus and the Resurrection Justified," with Commentaries, &c., in all 10 volumes.

The contention of Dr. Sparrow's supporters was, that the King's mandate having been given and Sparrow elected and confirmed by the King's commissioners,

"no other Court ought to intermeddle with the debate, since the King is *jure communi* visitor of the said Colledge, being Heire to the Foundresse Queen Elizabeth, wife to King Edward the 4th. And the Common Lawe saith, that

where the King is Founder, or Heire to the Founder or Foundresse, he is visitor of that Foundation, and as visitor judge of Differences about the Statutes of the Colledge."

It is easy to understand that Dr. Sparrow was recommended to the King by his sufferings in the Royalist cause, and it may well be supposed that, knowing nothing of the wish of the junior Fellows to have Mr. Patrick, his Majesty supposed that Dr. Sparrow would be as acceptable to the Society as he was indubitably well qualified for the Presidentship. On his deprivation by Lord Manchester in 1644, Anthony Sparrow, then thirty-two, was reduced to great straits. Four years later he was instituted by Bishop Hall into the living of Hawkden in Suffolk. But he was driven out by the Long Parliament, and, says Dr. Plumptre,

"during the remainder of the usurpation he skulk'd from one place to another. After the Restoration he resumed possession of his living, but was soon afterwards called up to London to consult with other divines upon the alterations to be made in the Service-Book. He was likewise prevailed with by the earnest request and importunity of his friends to become one of the Ministers and Preachers at Bury St. Edmund's."

At the time of his appointment to the Presidentship Dr. Sparrow was Archdeacon of Sudbury and Chaplain to the King. On January 27th, 1663, he signed a decree of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads for "the more solemn observance of the 30th day of January," the date of the execution of King Charles I. It is ordered that the Heads being Doctors in Divinity shall in turn according to seniority preach upon that day at 9 A.M., and that

there shall be a speech at 2 P.M. (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 510). In 1663 Dr. Sparrow was also made a Prebendary of Ely by Bishop Wren. In 1664 he signed a decree, as one of the Heads, ordering "that all in *statu pupillari* that shall go to coffee-houses without their tutor's leave shall be punished according to the statute for haunters of taverns and alehouses" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 515). Evidently the coffee-house of the present day differs not a little from its seventeenth-century prototype. And after this it became very common for the gravest graduates to go to the coffee-house to read the journals and newsletters, when the coach had come in. A coach first plied between Cambridge and London in 1653: in 1654 a coach called "The Fly" left the "Swan" in Holborn every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and the "Rose" in Cambridge every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, the fare being 10s., and twelve hours, "not counting the time for dining" being spent on the journey (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 454 and 463). Dr. Sparrow was Vice-Chancellor 1664-1665 and received in that capacity an invitation which he did not accept. On March 23, the Mayor, the Recorder and the Aldermen "went on fishing according to custome." They had three boats with nets, they drew Newnham Pit, Cambridge Mill Pit, and so fished down to Bullen Grove, at the east end of Stourbridge Common. There, continues Alderman Newton,

"we had our fish dressed, ye charge of this for wine bread and cheese in ye boate and after at Bullen together with boatehire came to £5 od money. Ye Mace did not goe with ye Mayor, none were in Gownes. The Mayor and Aldermen invited with them ye Vice Chancellor then Dr.

Sparrowe but he went not, also Dr. Fleetwood, Dr. Dillingham and Dr. Stoyt (Provost of King's, Master of Clare, and Edward Stoyte, M.D.), who went and dyned with them at Bullen."

The plague was so bad in Cambridge in the latter part of the year that the sermons at St. Mary's and the exercises in the Schools were discontinued. At this crisis Mr. Tennyson, afterwards Archbishop, then Vicar of Great St. Andrew's, was actually left alone in Corpus with two scholars and a few servants. In March 1666 the place was pronounced to be free from infection and the students were summoned back into residence; but the plague broke out again with great violence in the summer, Stourbridge Fair was put off and all public meetings in the University and town were suspended, and as late as February 1667 the King by letter reserved the seniority of all persons who by reason of contagion were unable to come to Cambridge on Ash Wednesday to be created Bachelors (Cooper "Ann.," iii. 517, 520, 522). In this year, 1667, Dr. Sparrow on being appointed Bishop of Exeter resigned the Headship of Queens'. Bishop Sparrow was translated to Norwich in 1676, and died there in 1685.

"After he was Bishop he published a Collection of Articles, Canons, &c., of the Church of England, with a Preface, and a Rationale of the Common Prayer. He married Susanna Coel, daughter of Thomas Coel, Esq., of Depden (his native place), by whom he had six daughters. He was a man of a very ready apprehension and good judgment, but complained of the weakness of his memory. He was very strict in his devotions, public and private. Besides those in his retirements, he never failed to have

the Litany read in his family every evening about six or seven o'clock" (Dr. Plumptre, from Gearing's MS. History of the Bishops of Norwich).

Bishop Sparrow's "Rationale" is an important and valuable work. The quotation given above from Dr. Plumptre conveys the impression that the work was first published after Dr. Sparrow's elevation to the episcopal bench. The date of the book seems to be 1655, but no copy of that edition is known to be extant. A copy of the edition of 1657, the earliest known to be in existence, is appropriately in the Library of Queens' College.

Some items from the accounts of this period are of sufficient interest to be quoted. In 1664 the Fellows' Garden was taken in hand, for £6 0*s.* 2*d.* was paid "for heightening ye walls," 19*s.* for "jasmins, gilliflowers and strawberries," £1 14*s.* "for Peach and Apricote-trees," 6*s.* 6*d.* "for 5 apple-trees and setting;" there were 12 elms set in the grove, and items for seeds, more apple-trees, for walks and hedging about the walks, which show that the Garden had been somewhat neglected during the preceding years. There are more purchases of fruit-trees, &c., in the following years. The lime-house at the Orchard-gate was built at a cost of £12 6*s.* 8*d.*, the carpenter's bill for the same amounting to £12 8*s.* 6*d.* "Curtains for the lodging" cost 16*s.*, "12 Russia-leather chairs in ye lodgings" £5 1*s.* For paving the Hall with stone at 7*d.* per foot £36 15*s.* 6*d.* is paid. A sum of 9*s.* 4*d.* is given to "S^re Paolo Sejalitti ye converted Jew," and there is the naïve entry "for 2 or 3 odd things 3*s.* 2*d.*" ("Magn.

Journ.," vi. 120-121). In June 1665 £2 10s. was paid to the organ-mender, and "6*d.* for a booke for ye Butler to enter ye beere;" in September £3 5s. for painting the Bridge, £2 8s. for "sixe turky chaires for ye lodging," and £2 15s. for table-linen ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 124). In December 1665 is a payment of 2s. "for dressing ye bore," *i.e.*, presumably the boar's head for Christmas Day; in June 1666 £1 to the upholsterer for chairs and mats in the Lodge, in August 2s. "for powder on ye thanksgiving day," in September £2 10s. to the upholsterer for work in the Lodge and £1 14s. 8*d.* to the *subcoquus* for scouring the pewter ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 127-129). In June 1667 £31 is paid for building the Orchard Wall ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 132).

On the promotion of Bishop Sparrow a President was again elected by royal mandate, on this occasion without the previous ceremony of a commendatory letter. The author of the "Memoirs of Bishop Sparrow" says that the King gave him the nomination of his successor in the Presidentship and that he nominated William Wells. There seems to be no evidence to support this statement, but even without any suggestion from the outgoing President, William Wells was a person very likely to be selected by the King, as having proved his loyalty by something more than words. He had been elected Fellow of Queens' in 1638, and had been ejected by Lord Manchester for refusing to take the Covenant in 1644. At this time he was Rector of Sandon in Essex (a living which came into the gift of the College in 1736), and Archdeacon of Colchester. He was a married man and left two daughters. There was no opposition to his election, although the Fellows, or some of them, were, it

is said, again anxious to elect Dr. Patrick. Dr. Wells was elected Sept. 26th, 1667. There was apparently a feeling in the University that the Crown was inclined to interfere overmuch by means of these royal mandates for offices and degrees, and the existence of the feeling must have become known to the King. For in 1668 Charles II. addressed a letter to the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Caput, declaring his Royal Pleasure that all persons who shall come with letters mandatory for degrees shall personally subscribe the usual forms and pay the usual fees (Cooper "Ann.," iii. 530), a letter clearly meant to remove as far as possible an angry feeling on the part of the University. Dr. Wells, as one of the Heads of Houses, had the honour of assisting in the reception of Cosmo de Medicis, Prince of Tuscany, in 1669, the Duke and Duchess of York and the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III., in 1670. The illustrious champion of Protestantism and freedom is described by one who saw him on this occasion as being "between 19 and 20 years of age, a well countenanced man, a smooth and meeger face, and a handsome head of hayre of his owne" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 545). In 1671, the King paid his long-promised visit to Cambridge and was magnificently entertained by the University at a cost of more than a thousand pounds. It is significant that, "through his Majesties great favour, and his Grace the Chancellor's (the Duke of Buckingham) care of the University, no degrees were conferred upon any, by his Majesties command, though much desired by many" (*London Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1671). A list of the members of the University published in 1672 gives the total number as 2522. Queens' College is set down as

consisting of "a President, 19 Fellows, 27 Scholars, 12 Bible Clerks, and three Lecturers of Hebrew, Arithmetic and Geometry (*i.e.*, John Joscelyn's Hebrew Lecturer and Sir Thomas Smith's Arithmetic and Geometry Lecturers), besides other officers and servants of the Foundation and Students. The whole number being about 120." This is almost the same number as on the eve of the Civil War, 1641, but there is a terrible declension from the palmy days of Bishop Davenant, when the College numbered two hundred and thirty (p. 106). Nevertheless the College could show at this time a long list of distinguished members, who had made their mark, most of them in the Church, but some in other departments. Such were Robert Stapleton, (d. 1669), who was knighted by Charles I. for his gallantry at Edge Hill, translated Juvenal and Musæus, and was a dramatic author of eminence; Thomas Mocket (d. 1670), a writer on practical divinity; Joseph Truman (d. 1671), author of the "Discourse of Natural and Moral Impotency." Dr. John Sherman (d. 1671), Archdeacon of Salisbury, author of "*Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiæ*"; William Sherwin, a writer of millenarian views; Oliver Bowles, Fellow (d. 1674), an exemplary divine who wrote "*Tractatus de Pastore Evangelico*"; Sir Orlando Bridgman (d. 1674), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; William Whitaker, Fellow, a famous preacher of exemplary life; Sir John King (d. 1677), Solicitor-General to the Duke of York; Dr. Robert Mapletoft (d. 1677), Fellow, Master of Pembroke, and Dean of Ely; Charles Smith (d. 1678), Fellow, Archdeacon of Colchester; Sir Moundeford Bramston (d. 1679), Master in Chancery; Dr. Edward Davenant

(d. 1679), Fellow, Archdeacon of Berks, &c. ; Nathanael Ingelo (d. 1683), Fellow, author and musician ; Francis Bramston (d. 1683), Fellow, Baron of the Exchequer ; Roger Coke, who wrote the "Detection of the Court and State of England" ; Sir Charles Cotterell (d. 1687), French and Spanish Scholar ; Heneage Finch (d. 1689), Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador to Turkey ; Dr. Walter Needham (d. 1691), Fellow, a famous anatomist ; Dr. Richard Meggot (d. 1692), Dean of Winchester ; Benjamin Rogers, the musical composer ; Dr. Zachary Cradock (1695), Fellow, Preacher at Grays' Inn, Provost of Eton, a learned and eloquent divine ; Dr. John Patrick (d. 1695), Preacher at the Charterhouse, author of a "Century of Psalms," etc. ; John Fielding (d. 1697), Fellow, Archdeacon of Dorset ; Charles Hopkins (d. 1699), author of dramas, poems and translations ; Edmund Bohun (d. 1699), Chief-Justice of South Carolina, a well-known political writer ; Dr. Samuel Croborrow, Fellow, Archdeacon of Nottingham, a non-juror ; John Pomfret (d. 1703), who wrote the "Choice," a once popular poem ; Sir Thomas Jenner (d. 1707), Justice of the Common Pleas ; Joseph Kelsey (d. 1710), Fellow, Archdeacon of Wilts.

In 1673 Dr. Wells had a curious experience. The Official of the Archdeaconry of Ely suspended Dr. Spencer, Master of Corpus and Vice-Chancellor at the time, and Dr. Wells, President of Queens', "for not appearing at the Archdeacon's Visitation, they being incumbents of benefices in the archdeaconry" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 556). The official must have been a busy-body and made a very bad mistake on this occasion. His action was complained of as being not only a breach

of the privileges of the University, but also of the rights of Convocation, which was then sitting, and of which Dr. Spencer and Dr. Wells were *ex-officio* members as Archdeacons respectively of Sudbury and Colchester.

In 1674 the Duke of Buckingham was removed from the Chancellorship and the Duke of Monmouth recommended for election by the King. At his installation at Worcester House on Sept. 3 Dr. Wells no doubt took part in the splendid ceremonies of the occasion. Dr. Wells was Vice-Chancellor the following year and presumably to him were addressed the Duke of Monmouth's inquiries on the state of the University and the way in which certain Statutes were observed (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 567 ff.). The first inquiry "whether my last letter of the delivering of sermons by memory and the decent wearing of hair had its due effect or not?" refers to a letter written by the Duke, October 8th, 1674, when the King had been scandalised by a preacher, who wore a "peruke of an unusual and unbecoming length," and read his sermon. "The Merrie Monarch" was at Newmarket when his feelings were thus harrowed, and the rebuke to the University on these practices which occasioned Majesty so much displeasure is dated from Newmarket. The reply of the Heads was, "That his grace's letter of delivering sermons by memory and the decent wearing of hair hath had very good effect with many, and that it may have its due and full effect with all, it shall be our care to our power in our several places." To the eighth question "whether that statute which forbids any persons to come to the taverns, unless to meet some friends out of the country, be duly observed

or not?" the answer is: "The statute for scholars (of whatsoever profession or degree) not going to taverns (saving in some cases in the same statute allowed) is too frequently transgressed, notwithstanding the endeavours of the vice-chancellor and other officers of the University." And to the twelfth question "whether the coffee-houses be much frequented or not, by what sort and degree of men, and at what hour?" answer was made, "The coffee-houses are daily frequented and in great numbers of all sorts (the heads of houses and other doctors excepted!!) at all hours, especially morning and evening." In the drafting of these replies, however, Dr. Wells can have taken no part, for he died about July 20th, 1675.

And now for the third time in succession a royal mandate supplied the College with a President. A curious story is told in connexion with this appointment. The Fellows, it is said, were still, as they had been at the two previous vacancies, desirous of electing Dr. Patrick to be President. To secure a free election Henry James, B.D., Fellow and Chaplain to the King, was sent by the Society to make interest with proper persons about the Court that no mandate might be sent. However this may be, a mandate was sent, Henry James was the person named in it and by virtue of the mandate he was admitted President, July 29th, 1675. This, notes Dr. Plumptre, "was the last mandate that came to the College to this time (1784), and may it ever continue so." James II. sent two mandates for the election of Fellows in 1686 and 1687, but this was the last occasion on which the choice of a President was suggested or dictated by the Crown.

The new President was the son of Henry James, Rector of Kingston in Somersetshire, and also of Crocombe, to which last he was promoted by the Committee of Parliament during the Civil War. Henry James the younger was educated at Eton, entered Magdalene College in 1660, removed to Queens' 1661, and was elected Fellow 1664. As he was seventy-five at the time of his death in 1717, he was less than thirty-four when he became President. His rule of more than forty-one years is the longest in the history of the College, unless indeed Andrew Dokett's tenure of the Headship be reckoned from 1442, though it is more reasonable to count it from the date of the actual foundation of Queens' College in 1448. After his election as President, Henry James took the degree of D.D., was further promoted to Prebends at York and at Canterbury, and became in 1700 Regius Professor of Divinity. He was three times Vice-Chancellor, in 1683, 1696 and 1697. In the year after his appointment, his name appears last as the junior Head among the signatories of a decree forbidding scholars to resort to houses of ill-fame, one of which is the Saracen's Head "upon the causeway to Queens' College." (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 571). In 1681 his name is signed, now half-way up the list, to the decree

"that none residing in the University (under the degree of master of arts) shall hereafter upon any pretence whatsoever be allowed to appear publicly either in or out of colleges in mourning gowns, or gowns made after that fashion, or any other but what by custom and order of the University belongs to their degree and standing" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 588).

In the same year the King and Queen visited Cambridge and were enthusiastically received.

"The whole [entertainment] was so great and magnificent, and withal so zealous and hearty, to the Nobility as well as their Majesties, that the Court was never better satisfy'd with any Entertainment, of which the news soon resounded through the whole Kingdom" (Echard, Hist., iii. 638).

The accounts of the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's) contain expenses amounting to £500 in connexion with this royal visit. In 1683, when Dr. James was Vice-Chancellor, the University presented an extravagantly loyal address on the discovery of the Rye House Plot. "All the unnatural and devilish conspiracies of wicked and execrable men serve only to convince the world how much your Sacred Majesty is the Darling of Heaven and the peculiar care of Providence" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 598). It appears that the Colleges still at this period paid the poor of Cambridge the sum of £126 8s. by quarterly payments. The payments are ranked in a scale descending from Trinity College, which contributed £21 6s. 8d., to Catharine Hall, which gave £1 12s.: Queens' College, which comes sixth on the list, is assessed at £7 9s. 4d.

Under James II., the Jesuits were very anxious to gain a footing in the Universities. They fancied that once admitted they would gain such a reputation by their methods of instruction, that they would attract the men away from the University tutors, "who were certainly too remiss." Various plans were suggested, amongst others that the King should endow a new

college for them in each of the Universities, "which need not have cost above two thousand pounds a year." The King was not prepared to do this, but he endeavoured to conciliate or coerce the Universities into admitting Papists. Joshua Basset was appointed Master of Sidney by a royal mandate which dispensed him from taking any oath. Basset was a Fellow of Caius and generally reputed a Papist. When the Fellows of Sidney refused to omit the Thanksgiving Service on November 5, "he shut the door of the College Chapel and hindered the service for that time." Then followed the attempt to procure by mandamus the M.A. degree for Alban Francis, "an ignorant Benedictine monk." In this Basset, as a member of the Caput, was expected to help. But the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Peachell, Master of Magdalene, had the full support of the University in declining to admit Francis, until the King had been petitioned to revoke his mandate. This revocation could not be procured: the influence of the Chancellor, the Duke of Albemarle, and of Lord Sunderland was exerted in vain, and the Vice-Chancellor and deputies of the Senate were summoned to appear in London before the Lords Commissioners. The Deputies appointed were Dr. John Peachell, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Eachard, Master of Catharine Hall, Dr. Humphrey Babington, Fellow of Trinity, Dr. Thomas Smoult, Professor of Casuistry, Dr. William Cook, Fellow of Jesus, Mr. John Billers, Fellow of St. John's and Public Orator, Mr. Isaac Newton, Fellow of Trinity and Mathematical Professor, Mr. James Smith, Fellow of Queens' (elected 1679) and Mr. George Stanhope, Fellow of King's. These delegates appeared before the

Commissioners who were presided over by Lord Chancellor Jefferys on April 21st, April 27th, and May 7th and 12th, 1687. In the end the unfortunate Dr. Peachell was deprived of the Vice-Chancellorship and his Mastership "for an act of great disobedience to the King's commands," the others were dismissed with a warning to be more obedient in future, a warning delivered by Jefferys himself and ending with the words, "Therefore I shall say unto you what the Scripture says, and rather because most of you are divines; Go your way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto you" (Cooper, "Ann.," iii. 621-632). James Smith, who was honoured by being chosen to represent the University on this occasion, was preferred by the Earl of Dorset to the living of Welford in Gloucestershire, by which his fellowship was vacated in April 1690. He was afterwards Chaplain to Bishop Patrick, Prebendary of Ely and Rector first of Rettingdon in Essex, then of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire. Queens' College received two royal mandates from James II. for the election of Fellows. One was for Josiah Alsop, Chaplain to a Regiment of Foot, who was elected in 1686. He was presented by William III. to Rendelsham in Suffolk, August 1699, which vacated his fellowship. The other mandate was in 1687 for George Geary, "who was elected but never admitted." Probably the coming change appeared near enough to warrant the Society in a judicious postponement of the admission. And King James II. soon saw the error of his ways. In 1688 Dr. Peachell was reinstated at Magdalene and "the Popish Master" withdrawn from Sidney. But it was too late, the King and the Lord Chancellor had soon

other things to think of besides browbeating the University. Just before the bloodless Revolution, on the death of the Duke of Albemarle, Archbishop Sancroft was elected Chancellor against his express wish. But the Archbishop persisted in refusing to accept the office, and, as having sworn loyalty to James II., he felt unable to take the oaths to William and Mary. So he lost the Archbishopric, and Charles Seymour, "the proud Duke of Somerset," was elected Chancellor in March 1689, and held the office for nearly sixty years. There is no evidence that any of the Fellows of Queens' refused the oaths to William and Mary, and the list of Fellows elected seems to be conclusive that no fellowships were vacated in this way. In 1689 only one Fellow was elected, in 1690 two, and there was no election in 1691. Archdeacon Croborow indeed was a non-juror, but his fellowship had been vacated by his preferment as far back as 1679. Still Dr. James must have been rendered uncomfortable by a story about copies of James II.'s Declaration found at Cambridge, which came before the Houses of Commons on June 20:

"One Thomas Fowler was called in and was at the Bar examined concerning the same; and gave an account that they came down by Carriers in Boxes, directed to the Master of Queens' College and Master of St. John's College. But Sir Robert Sawyer, one of the Burgesses for the University (the great Newton was the other) acquainted the House, That he had received Information, that both the Boxes were carried to and now remain with the Vice-Chancellor" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 6).

The King visited the University, October 7th, 1689, when "an extraordinary commencement being held on

this signal occasion for conferring degrees on persons of work in all faculties" among those admitted was Monsieur Peter Allix, of Queens' College, afterwards Dean of Ely. Peter Allix had something of a gift for verse. He was one of the contributors to the Cambridge Verses written on the death of the little Duke of Gloucester in 1700, and again in 1702, to the Verses written on the death of William III. and the accession of Queen Anne, when Thomas Rymer, who was elected Fellow of Queens' in that year, also contributed.

One of the most distinguished members of the College showed at this time by his generosity that he had not forgotten Cambridge. Simon Patrick, who was now Bishop of Ely, about 1691, the date of his translation to Ely, established lectureships in the two churches of St. Botolph and St. Clement, "allowing to each of them thirty pounds a year, for an afternoon sermon every Sunday."

While we are speaking of Bishop Patrick, it may be recorded that on September 1st, 1704, as Bishop of Ely, he consecrated the new Chapel of St. Catharine's. The Petition to the Bishop and the Act of Consecration will be found, Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 67.

Dr. Plumptre writes in his MS. history :

"The walk called Erasmus' Walk was, I believe, first made in the time of Dr. James, viz., in the year 1685. For in the Accounts of that year it is spoken of as made and as planted, not replanted; and King's College was at the expense of planting the side next the ditch, Queens' of that next the Common ('Magn. Journ.,' vi. 218, Dec. 1685). The title was probably given it therefore in honour of that distinguished Member of the College, rather than on

account of its being a favourite walk of his. If it was so, he enjoyed I doubt no other shade there than what arose from the adjoining Grove of King's College ; for I find no direct mention nor anything which may seem to imply the plantation or forming of any walk here till this time."

As late as 1779 the University paid £50 to save the trees in Erasmus' Walk from destruction by the town (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 389). These trees are described as "the trees on Erasmus's Walk at the north end of Queens' Green," and are presumably outside the College property, otherwise it would have devolved on the College to save the trees.

A subject that continually crops up at this period and occasioned heart-burnings and litigation is the question of "pontage lands," the proprietors of which were supposed to be liable for the repairs of the "Great Bridge." In 1694 Queens', together with Corpus, King's and St. Catherine's Colleges, and a number of private proprietors, had to undergo indictment at the assizes for not repairing the Great Bridge. The town was indicted in 1718 for non-repair of the Bridge and pleaded that it ought to be repaired by the owners of the pontage lands, while some of the proprietors who were indicted claimed that the Corporation were liable to maintain the Bridge, as they took a toll for passing over it. The pontage rates were so heavy that it is not to be wondered at if the proprietors rebelled against the burdens, *e.g.*, in 1738 the Commissioners assessed the lands chargeable to the repair of the Great Bridge at £5 13s. 6d. per hide, in 1752 on a rate of £6 per hide the President and Fellows of Queens' were rated at £33 for their Eversden property, and yet after all the

Great Bridge was rebuilt by public subscription in 1754! The Colleges subscribed £191 and a Collection in the University Church produced £30 (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 26, 150, 240, 288, 292).

On November 19th, 1697, Dr. James as Vice-Chancellor, accompanied the Chancellor, the Archbishop, a number of Bishops and Heads of Houses, the Proctors and the Members for the University, to Kensington Palace to present a loyal address to William III. on the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick. And again the Vice-Chancellor waited on the King, December 2, to offer His Majesty the volume of poems written by the University to celebrate the King's return and the restoration of peace. Dr. James is not mentioned as one of the contributors to this volume, but in 1708 he was one of the writers in the collection of Greek and Latin Verses composed on the death of Prince George of Denmark. Dr. James had become Regius Professor of Divinity in 1700, and in that capacity, when Queen Anne came to Cambridge, April 16th, 1705, and an extraordinary commencement was held in honour of her visit, "opened that Ceremony with a very learned and eloquent Speech." The Queen went to Trinity, where the great Newton was knighted, to St. John's, and to service at King's.

"After Prayers Her Majesty went to Queens' College, where she was received by Dr. James in the same manner and with the same expressions of Duty and Loyalty as she had been in the other Houses, which she had been pleased to honour with her presence: From thence Her Majesty took Coach, and returned the same evening to Newmarket, very well satisfied with all the marks of Obedience and

Loyalty which she had met with" ("London Gazette," April 19, 1705).

A Fellow of Queens' was chosen as one of the five Delegates sent to represent the University at the bicentenary of the University of Frankfort on the Oder in 1706, "when the deputation was received at Frankfort with the utmost courtesy, the King of Prussia assisting in person upon the occasion" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 75). This was Henry Plumptre, M.D., who was elected Fellow in 1702, but vacated his Fellowship by not taking orders. He was afterwards an eminent Physician in London and President of the College of Physicians.

Dr. James was one of the Trustees appointed by the will of William Worts to administer his splendid benefactions to the University. He was also one of the Heads who, in 1710, deprived William Whiston the Lucasian Professor, who "believed in everything except the Trinity," for publishing and avowing Arian tenets (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 86 and 103). He lived to see the accession of the House of Hanover, and may have been one of the Heads who presented George I. with an address of welcome at St. James', September 22nd, 1714, and again with an address on the failure of the Old Pretender, August 16th, 1715. But his long tenure of the Headship was drawing to a close. He had ruled Queens' College under six Sovereigns (Charles II., James II., William and Mary, Anne, George I.), and had been President for upwards of forty-one years, when he died, unmarried, at the age of seventy-five, March 15th, 1717. "He had proved himself an excellent Master, very attentive to the business and interests of

the College during his life, and was a considerable Benefactor to it at his death." By his will he gave the College an estate at Haddenham in Cambridgeshire, and an Exchequer annuity of £50 per annum to found four "poor scholarships," a term equivalent to the more modern sizarships, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per week each, and for an allowance of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week in meat to four poor people, of whom the College scullion was always to be one, and the others were to be named by the President. On this bequest Dr. Plumptre notes that "during the continuance of the Exchequer Annuity there is a surplus in this account which is divided among the Master and Fellows. When that ceases, March 25th, 1830, this dividend will cease also." In 1701 Dr. James had given £20 to the College, on condition that £1 should be paid on Christmas Eve in equal portions to the eight almswomen "for the purchase of a Christmas dinner in commemoration of Lady Joan Burgh, who gave St. Nicholas Court to the College." Dr. James also left to the Library his books and £50 for purchasing new books; and bequeathed money with which the Rectory of Grimston, Norfolk, was bought.

Other benefactions belonging to the period covered by this Chapter are these. Bishop Sparrow gave £100 for wainscoting and adorning the Parlour (Combination-room). Dr. William Roberts, Bishop of Bangor, and formerly Fellow, gave £100 to found a scholarship in 1665, with a preference for a poor scholar of the diocese of Bangor. In 1670 John Joscelyn gave an augmentation out of lands in Sturmer to the Hebrew Lectureship founded by his great uncle. But this benefaction was lost by a flaw in the settlement.

Edward Kemp, elected Fellow 1632, ejected 1644 and restored 1660, who died Rector of Eversden 1671, gave to the Chapel £300, out of which was purchased an annuity of £16 rising out of an estate at Willingham. Thomas Clarke, M.A., Rector of Maningford Abbots, Wiltshire, formerly Fellow, gave in 1674 an estate at Eversleigh in Wiltshire (exchanged for an estate at Kingston, Cambridgeshire) to found four scholarships of £10 per annum each. He desired that one of his scholarships should go to the Librarian. £3 was to go annually to the College Stock, and the surplus of the annual rent to buy books for the Library. "By this he is the principal Benefactor to the Library." Matthew Andrews, Fellow, in the same year gave all his medical books to the Library. Dr. Robert Mapletoft, Fellow, afterwards Master of Pembroke and Dean of Ely, gave £100 towards purchasing the fee-farm rent payable to the Crown for the manor of Eversden, the interest to found two poor scholarships and to augment the stipends of the Censor Theologicus and the Catechist. Mrs. Sarah Bardsey, widow of Dr. Edmund Bardsey, one of the ejected Fellows, gave the Rectory of Hickling in Nottinghamshire. Richard Bryan, B.D., Vice-President, gave £50 in 1680. In 1691 Mr. Thomas Alston, of Assington in Suffolk, gave a rent-charge of £3 per annum, charged on a farm at Assington, to found a poor scholarship, with a preference first for any one of the name of Alston, then for a native of Suffolk. David Edwards founded a Fellowship, Thomas Edwards, LL.D., a scholarship. Griffith Lloyd in 1713 founded two poor scholarships with a preference for natives of Carmarthen, or failing such of Wales. Queens' was

one of the Colleges which benefited by the foundation of Lady Sadleir in 1710. An Algebra Lectureship was founded by her with a stipend of £28 paid out of an estate in Hampshire. "The Master of Emmanuel receives the rent of this estate and pays the stipends" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 77).

A regulation passed in Dr. James' time will show how times have altered. On Oct. 26th, 1676, it was decided, by the unanimous consent of the President and Fellows, that nothing but Latin be spoken in the Hall at dinner and supper, not only in term but out of term, by all gownsmen constantly (excepting all Scarlet-days, the twelve days at Christmas and Commemoration of Benefactors). Apparently this ordinance was found to be somewhat severe, for Sept. 13th, 1680, there was a modification ; it was desired and consented to that English may be spoken on Sundays and holidays and the decree be in force at all other times ("Old Parch. Reg.," 157). *Nous avons changé tout cela.* Many of the present Fellows can remember the time when they were fined a bottle of wine for speaking three words of Latin in Hall, and recall with mingled amusement and indignation the gross injustice practised to render them amenable to the penalty. The fine is still nominally in force, but the custom, unhappily for the liveliness of the meal, is "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

Francis Master, who was elected Fellow in 1676, is the hero of some extraordinary episodes recorded in Dr. James' Book. The extracts will tell their own story.

"I Fran : Master, Fellow of Queens Coll, do declare in ye presence of God and upon ye faith of a Christian that I

was not one of those that broke into ye Master's Orchard and destroyed ye Fruit-trees in August 1677.' This Mr. Master would not subscribe but own'd his shame for it : ' I am asham'd of the Act.' Upon Mr. Master's confession that he was guilty of that ungratefull and inhuman act, and upon his owning himself very sorry for it and upon his earnest entreating of my pardon, I was willing to pass it by, after he had subscribed wth his owne hand those words, viz., ' I am asham'd of ye Act.' Oct. 4, 1678 : in my bed-chamber. H. J.

" ' I acknowledge that I said the last Congregation was a pack'd Congregation, for which rash and indiscreet words I acknowledge myself very sorry.' Francis Master. Oct. 4, 1678 : In my bedchamber H. J.

" Mr. Master, privately admonish'd for Pernoctation (which appears to mean stopping all night out of College) Mar. 3, 1678, again privately admonish'd for his loose living Oct. 4, 1678 wth a promise by his owne hand, in Jan. 1679 came to officiate at Chappell on a Sunday in ye Evening much disorder'd wth drink. In ye same yeare from Shrove Monday until ye Friday in Whitsun-week never at ye Chappell foure times, lieing for ye most part out of ye Coll dureing all that time, and that at houses of noe good note, particularly at ye 3 Tuns on Easter Eve and Easter-night, and soe continually notwithstanding many and frequent messages from myselfe and ye earnest importunities of his Friends to repaire to ye Coll. Mr. Master return'd to ye Coll about Shrove-tide in ye yeare 1679 and having lain in ye Town for ye most part at ye 3 Tuns for 5 weeks together and never been at Chappell nor in ye Hall dureing all that time was on 14 Apr : 1680 punish'd according to ye Statutes for Pernoctation 20^l, and then with ye consent of ye Fellows and at his owne request sent into ye country and not to return without leave,

return'd again in Oct: since w^{ch} time he has liv'd very disorderly lieing for ye most part out of ye Coll and abstaining from ye Publick Prayers, notwithstanding severall messages sent to him he would not repayre to ye Coll, but now, viz Nov. 29, 1680, appearing before myselfe and ye Society at a publick meeting he was then in my owne name and ye names of ye whole Society Admonish'd according to Statute for his scandalous manner of Liveing & ye reproach he brought upon ye Coll. Hen. James."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Master became a wiser and a better man. The admonitions are not repeated, either privately in Dr. James' bed-chamber or at a public meeting. He must at least have ceased his scandalous life, for "he was preferred to two livings in Canterbury, which vacated his fellowship, 1684."

Dr. James' Book contains abstracts of the College Accounts during the greater part of his Mastership. The income of the College varied a good deal. As a specimen of a good year the Account rendered Lady-Day and Michaelmas 1710 (Dr. James' Book 11) may be taken. The total sum received at Lady-Day is returned as £385 4s. 11d., at Michaelmas £298 0s. 10d. To this rent-receipt are added balances which make up £707 2s. 1d., but payments amounting to £104 9s. have to be deducted, so that the sum available for division is £602 13s. 1d. Of this the President receives two-twentieths, £60 5s. The President pays 15s. 7d. for Commons, the Fellows' Commons amount to £245 4s. 3d., leaving for division among the eighteen Fellows £297 19s. 5d., or £16 11s. apiece, the odd 1s. 5d. being given *Divisori*. The Accounts for some parts of

the property are kept separately, and fines on renewal of leases and the like come in periodically. Dr. James' Book contains a full account of the different properties then held by the College. From this book it would probably be possible to exhibit fully the conditions of the College Finances during the period. But space forbids that this should be attempted here.

In 1685, a year of repairs, a considerable sum was spent on the first Court. Dr. James' account is this :

"This yeare all ye first Court was stripp'd, ye Sparrs w^{ch} in many places were very bad new lin'd, all ye upper Windows made new & regular, the great Gate alter'd, ye Gate-House & Regent-Walk (across the Court) new laid with Freestone, ye bow-window in ye Hall repair'd with Freestone & new glass there, ye Dials new painted, ye Cripple betwixt ye library & ye Master's Bedchamber made new ; that vast Summer in ye Master's Study, on w^{ch} all ye Sparrs of that building lean (being rotted at both ends) supported by two great pieces of Timber, a Cupola new made &c. all w^{ch} make ye moneth (monthly) acct^s swell to soe great a sum " ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 221).

The monthly accounts for Sept. 1685, are swollen to £490, and nearly all this amount was spent upon the repairs and alterations named in Dr. James' note.

CHAPTER IX

UNDER THE GEORGES

"In God's name, stop there. Be Church of England men still. Do not cast away the peculiar glory which God has put upon you."

Presidents: John Davies, 1717-1732; William Sedgwick, 1732-1760; Robert Plumptre, 1760-1788; Isaac Milner, 1788-1820; Henry Godfrey, 1820-1832.

For good or for evil there can be no question that the fortunes of the Universities have always been closely bound up with the fortunes of the Church of England. The closeness of the connexion was remarked and reprobated as early as the reign of Elizabeth, when it was represented that the Universities were becoming too exclusively seminaries for the Anglican clergy. But the Bishops at the time were not inclined to loosen the ties that bound the Universities to the Church, and it was reserved for the nineteenth century to sweep away all the restrictions which could prevent any man from joining or enjoying the full privileges of the Universities. In the eighteenth century the Church of England probably sank to the lowest level she has ever reached. No more significant condemnation of her condition can be found than the warning given to Prince Charles, the Young Pretender, "not to judge of the English clergy



From a photograph by]

[F. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

NORTH-WEST CORNER OF LODGE AND BRIDGE



by the Bishops, who were not promoted for their piety and learning, but for writing pamphlets, being active at elections, and voting as the ministry directed them.' The Church, it is true, at no period of her history possessed abler scholars among her clergy. But the prevailing policy of the State was fatal to the real efficiency of the National Church, and general deadness and inertia are unhappily the marked features of the period. What happened in the Church happened also in the Universities. And a College is a microcosm of the University, and, as a general rule, exhibits the same characteristics, the same virtues or the same vices, on a smaller scale. And so it was here. Numbers are not the only test, or the best test, of the efficiency of a College. But to some extent they must be accepted as a gauge of prosperity. The members of Queens' College, who had amounted in 1621 to two hundred and thirty, and in 1672 to one hundred and twenty, in 1753 had sunk to about sixty. There were at that date "a Master, twenty Fellows, forty-five scholars and eight exhibitioners, total usually about sixty." This statement is taken from "Carter's History," which the late Mr. Cooper characterises as "a very worthless book" ("Ann.," iv. 272). And though probably Carter's use of the terms "scholars and exhibitioners" is not more accurate than his "total," it cannot be supposed that he is greatly mistaken as to the number of men then in residence, nor does it appear that the number varied very much in the period now under consideration. Or again, take as a test the distinguished members of the College who lived during the same years. The earliest of them should more properly be

credited to the preceding period. But let these be included ; though a long enough list can easily be made, and many of the names are the names of men of real mark, it will probably be felt that, as a whole, the list is inferior to the shorter summaries given in previous chapters. The names are taken from the somewhat fuller list in Cooper's "Memorials" (p. 313 ff.) Among the better known Queens' men, then, are Dr. Lawrence Fogg, Dean of Chester (d. 1718) ; Sir Philip Meadows, Fellow, Ambassador to Portugal, Denmark and Sweden (d. 1718) ; Simon Ockley, Professor of Arabic, a great Orientalist, author of the "History of the Saracens," &c. (d. 1720) ; Poley Clopton, M.D., Fellow, a distinguished physician (d. 1730) ; Thomas Fuller, M.D., physician and medical writer (d. 1734) ; Dr. Nicholas Penny, Fellow, Dean of Lichfield (d. 1745) ; William Bramston, Fellow, Commissary of the University (d. 1734) ; Dr. William Bramston, Fellow, Canon of Worcester (d. 1735) ; Dr. John Warren, Fellow, Prebendary of Exeter (d. 1736) ; Dr. Thomas Brooke, Dean of Chester (d. 1737) ; Joseph Wasse, Fellow, an excellent classical scholar, editor of "Thucydides," "Sallust," &c. (d. 1738) ; Sir John Comyns, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, author of a "Digest of the Laws of England," &c. (d. 1740) ; Dr. Benjamin Langwith, Fellow, Prebendary of Chichester, antiquary (d. 1744) ; Dr. Thomas Brett, nonjuror and controversialist (d. 1744) ; Thomas Pellett, M.D., President of the College of Physicians (d. 1744) ; Henry Plumptre M.D., Fellow, President of the College of Physicians (d. 1746) ; Dr. Charles Ashton, Fellow, Master of Jesus, a learned critic (d. 1752) ; Dr. Peter Allix, Dean of Ely

(d. 1758); Dr. Isaac Maddox, Bishop of Worcester (d. 1759); Dr. Thomas Rymer, Fellow, author of a "General Representation of Revealed Religion" (d. 1761); John Hadley, M.D., Fellow, chemist and physician (d. 1764); Dr. William Geekie, Fellow, Archdeacon of Gloucester (d. 1767); Dr. John Ryder, Fellow, Archbishop of Tuam (d. 1775); Dr. Benjamin Newcome, Dean of Rochester (d. 1775); Dr. Richard Newcome, Fellow, Bishop of St. Asaph (d. 1769); Dr. Charles Plumptre, Fellow, Archdeacon of Ely (d. 1779); Daniel Wray, Fellow, an admirable scholar and critic (d. 1783); Sir George Saville, M.P. for Yorkshire (d. 1784); Henry Taylor, Fellow, Vicar of Portsmouth, one of the writers against Gibbon (d. 1785); Abel Ward, Fellow, Archdeacon of Chester (d. 1785); John Mitchell, Fellow, Woodwardian Professor (d. 1793); Russell Plumptre, M.D., Fellow, Regius Professor of Physic (d. 1793); Henry Venn, Fellow, author of "The Complete Duty of Man," &c. (d. 1796); Peter Newcome, Fellow, author of the "History of St. Alban's Abbey" (d. 1797); William Brown, Fellow, Archdeacon of Northampton (d. 1797); Owen Manning, Fellow, joint-author of "Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum," &c. (d. 1801); Thomas Fyshe Palmer, Fellow, an advocate of Parliamentary reform (d. 1802); Stebbing Shaw, Fellow, author of the "History of Staffordshire" (d. 1802); Joseph Dacre Carlyle, Professor of Arabic, Orientalist (d. 1803); Robert Acklam Ingram, Fellow, a writer on social science (d. 1809); Dr. Claudius Buchanan, author of "Christian Researches in Asia," the famous advocate of missionary work in the East (d. 1815); Christopher Wywill, an advocate of Parlia-

mentary reform and religious freedom (d. 1820); John Hatsell, Clerk of the House of Commons, an authority on Parliamentary Proceedings (d. 1820); Thomas Harrison, Fellow, Commissary of the University (d. 1824); Thomas Truebody Thomason, Fellow, Chaplain at Calcutta, translator of the Old Testament into Hindustani (d. 1829); James Plumptre, author of "Sermons, Dramas," &c. (d. 1832). This is a considerable list, and perhaps the most striking feature in it is the variety of the departments in which excellence was gained. The names are "many for many virtues excellent, None but for some, and yet all different." Nevertheless there will probably be few who do not think that, on the whole, these names are hardly equal to the names of the preceding period.

If the foregoing reflections are justly conceived, the triumphant pæan with which Dr. Plumptre opens his account of the Headship of John Davies, the twenty-third President of Queens' College, will be thought to be misplaced. "The Revolution," writes Dr. Plumptre, "had now taken place near thirty years, and the Hanover Succession near three. In this Golden Age of this Island, the season of Mandates was over; and may it never return!" It is permissible to echo Dr. Plumptre's wish, that "the season of Mandates may never return," with a private reservation that there may be worse evils than mandates in the history of a College, and with a refusal to endorse his verdict that the early Georgian period was "the Golden Age of this Island." But Dr. Plumptre, careful and industrious as he was, could not be expected to foresee the thoughts and judgments of our day, and it is only too possible that a

later age will find us of the present time much more mistaken and much less meritorious than Dr. Plumptre was. "O wad some pow'r the giftie gi'e us, to see ourselves as others see us!"

However this may be, Dr. John Davies became President by the free election of the Fellows, March 23rd, 1717. John Davies was the son of a London merchant, educated at the Charterhouse, entered the College 1695, was elected Fellow in 1700 and vacated his fellowship by preferment in 1712. He was Chaplain to Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Ely, whose library was purchased by King George I., and presented to the University. "This collection valuable for its extent, being above thirty thousand volumes, and for the rarity of its treasures both printed and manuscript, is considered the greatest benefaction Cambridge has yet received" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 140). The Bishop had preferred his Chaplain to the Rectory of Fen Ditton and to a stall in Ely Cathedral. Davies was a good classical scholar and a fine critic, and his work as an editor of the Classics ("Cicero's Philosophical Works," "Cæsar's Commentaries," "Maximus Tyrius," &c.) was considerable. In the year of his election, George I. visited the University, and the President, who was LL.D., was admitted D.D. with two other Heads of Houses, Mr. Grigg, Master of Clare, and Mr. Waterland, Master of Magdalene, the famous theologian, by royal mandate in the King's presence. His Majesty was enthusiastically received and was most gracious to the University. His favour was evidently a reward to Whig Cambridge for being good, perhaps also a punishment to Tory Oxford for being naughty. David Wilkins, who was one of

the Doctors created on this occasion, ends his account of the proceedings with the words, "What will the Sister University say to this?" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 148). In 1718 Dr. Davies was nominated as Vice-Chancellor against the outgoing Vice-Chancellor Dr. Gooch. The election was a vote of confidence in Dr. Gooch after the dreadful Bentley controversy, and he was re-elected by 122 votes to 60. Dr. Davies served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1725. He died March 7th, 1732, at the early age of fifty-two. His plain tombstone, with its short inscription, is not a greater contrast to the fulsome panegyrics customary at the time than it is a strong proof of his sober taste. His name, age, the date of his death, &c., are stated, and then *Plura dici noluit vir optimus*. Many of the Fellows elected during his Presidentship attained eminence. Such were William Bramston, LL.D., Commissary of the University, who "died in the Fleet," 1734: William Geekie, Chaplain to the Duke of Somerset Chancellor of the University, and afterwards Chaplain to Archbishop Wake and Archdeacon of Gloucester; John Ryder, Rector of Nuneaton, Bishop of several Dioceses successively in Ireland, who died Archbishop of Tuam in 1775, when he was upwards of ninety years of age. Joseph Wasse, who was as fine a scholar as Dr. Davies, was two years his senior as a Fellow. Wasse was Chaplain to the Duke of Kent and subsequently Rector of Aynhoe in Northamptonshire.

William Sedgwick was chosen to succeed Dr. Davies in the Presidentship March 15th, 1732. He was the son of Leonard Sedgwick, Rector of Thornton and Perpetual Curate of Stony-Stratford in Buckinghamshire, was

educated at Eton, entered Queens' College in 1716, was elected Fellow 1723, and was still Fellow at the time of his election. "Not being of standing for the degree of B.D., he obtained the signatures of a majority of the Heads to a Petition to the King for a Mandate for that degree, without which the Crown has not granted even Mandates for degrees since the Revolution" (Plumptre MS.) At the time of his election he held the College living of Oakington together with his Fellowship. But he vacated it shortly afterwards on being presented by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to the Rectory of St. Clement East Cheap, London.

Structural alterations of some importance were made in the College during the time of Mr. Sedgwick. The most considerable were the panelling of the Hall and covering it with a flat ceiling (happily removed in 1846), the erection of Essex's building, commonly known as the Fellows' Building, and the throwing across the river of the famous wooden Bridge. The Bridge is no doubt one of the features of the College and of Cambridge, and may be set in the balance against the barbarism of ceiling the Hall and the incongruity of the Essex building with the rest of the College. But it should be said in defence of the latter that its interior is superior to its exterior and the rooms internally are handsome and most comfortable. Here is Dr. Plumptre's account of these changes, which shall be given *in extenso* without comment.

"Early in his (Mr. Sedgwick's) time the Hall was new wainscoted and fitted up in its present neat and elegant manner, under the direction of Sir James Burrough, then Fellow of Caius College and one of the Esquires Beadles,

afterwards Master of the College (Caius). And in the year 1756 the Clunch building extending from the Lodge Stair-case by the Town Bridge to the College Kitchen on the outside, and forming nearly two sides of the Court called Erasmus's Court within, being very much decayed, was taken down, and the present useful and ornamental building begun in its place. It was planned and executed by Mr. Essex,* an eminent Architect and man of good understanding and character in Cambridge; and was finished (except the fitting up of the rooms) before the death of Mr. Sedgwick in 1760. Towards defraying the expense of it he had advanced £1000, on condition of receiving an Annuity for life from the College, about a year and a half before his death. The present Bridge from the Cloisters to the Stable-yard was built in the year 1749, and the wall along the river, as far as the College boundaries extend, was carried on and the Grove altered from its then nearly natural state to its present one (excepting some few additional improvements since made) in the three following years. This, and some considerable improvements in the Gardens of the College, and in the Cloister Court, were principally contrived by and the work carried on under the direction of John Fortin the then Gardiner (died 1783 after having been Gardiner upwards of forty years), a man of excellent skill in the ordinary parts of his business, and of some taste and knowledge in these superior parts, qualities which were more useful and pleasing; to which he added the more important ones to his Masters and himself of being an honest and faithful Servant."

The building, begun September 1756, was finished

* An account of James Essex will be found, Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 412-413.

September 1760, when Mr. Essex was paid twenty guineas "for surveying the new Building."

"It was at that time intended to rebuild the whole of the river-front, including the Lodge; and the part erected is only one wing of a more extensive design. The opposite wing would have been exactly similar; the central block would have been set in advance of the rest. It was surmounted by a pediment, and access to the bridge was provided through a lofty classical doorway, over which was a smaller pediment. The design, which was much admired at the time, will be found in the Cambridge Guide for 1796" ("Willis and Clark," ii. 18).

The work in the Hall was earlier in date. It may be premised that the panelling, which was removed, and which, after many years of seclusion in the Servants' Hall of the Lodge, has now been restored to a worthier position in the President's Study, had been put up in 1531-1532. It was about eight feet high and consisted of "linen" panels surmounted by a frieze which contained alternately the arms of benefactors in relief and grotesque heads finely carved. The full accounts for this panelling are printed from the "*Magnum Journale*" by Willis and Clark, ii. 61-68. The total cost was £50 5s. 3½*d.* The Screen was made 1548, but doors were not added until 1628 ("*Magn. Journ.*," quoted Willis and Clark, ii. 46). Under Sir James Burrough's direction a flat ceiling with an Italian cornice was introduced under the old open-timbered roof. Over the high table was erected a composition of wainscot "consisting of coupled Corinthian columns supporting an entablature and pediment with side-panels

in the same style; so that had not the pointed windows been retained the whole would have appeared uniform. The Oriel remained intact, but the tracery heads of the lateral windows were removed" (Willis and Clark, ii. 46). The work was begun in 1732 and finished in 1734. The work was entirely to the taste of the eighteenth century as Cole's description, written February 22, 1742, shows,

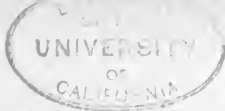
"[The Hall] very lately was elegantly fitted up according to the present taste and is now by much y^e neatest Hall of any in y^e University being compleatly wainscoted and painted with handsom fluted Pillars behind ye Fellows Table at ye upper end of it over w^{ch} are neatly carved ye Armes of ye Foundress: at ye lower end of it over ye two neat Iron Doors of ye Screens w^{ch} front ye Butteries and Kitchin is a small Gallery for Musick occasionally" (MSS. ii. 12, quoted "Willis and Clark," ii. 46).

The famous Dial also belongs to this time. Cole describes it thus:

"Over ye W. end [of the Chapel] is a small Tower* and against ye side of it w^{ch} fronts ye Court is lately placed a very handsome Clock, 1733, and directly under it on ye wall of ye Chapel and over ye Door w^{ch} leads to it is also lately painted a very elegant Sun Dial with all ye signs. This is no small ornam^t to ye Court to enliven it."

The Dial replaced an older one made in 1642. The present Dial and the Bridge are commonly connected

* Taken down in 1804, replaced by a classical clock-turret, which in 1848 was removed in favour of the present wooden turret erected under the direction of Mr. Brandon, Architect (see "Willis and Clark," ii. 51).



with the name of Sir Isaac Newton. But Newton died 1728, and Cole dates the Clock and Dial very precisely 1733 and Dr. Plumptre as precisely dates the Bridge 1749. However the Bridge replaced another wooden one built in 1700, about which it is possible that Newton may have been consulted.

Mr. Sedgwick did not proceed to the D.D. degree, and in consequence the Vice-Chancellorship did not come to him until 1741, when he was elected and served the office. He is described by his successor as

“a man of weak nerves and an infirm constitution, which he probably render'd still more so by too much indulgence, instead of using proper methods and exertions to strengthen it. For the last fifteen years of his life he very rarely went out of the Lodge. He died Nov. 4th, 1760, in the sixtieth year of his age, unmarried, and was buried in the Chapel, where there is a monument to his memory.”

Mr. Sedgwick was a considerable Benefactor to the College. He gave two freehold estates and a leasehold in Northamptonshire, the latter of which (according to the direction of his Will) was sold and half of the farm at Wrestlingworth in Bedfordshire bought with the purchase money. The uses to which his benefaction was to be applied were left (with some hints of the testator's wishes and intention) to his executor, Dr. Walker. The benefaction was applied to augment the Mastership, to found two scholarships, one of them with a preference first for a native of Buckinghamshire then of Northamptonshire, the scholars to be named by the President. The surplus after the stipends are paid is to be divided among such Fellows as are resident in the

College on November 3, and the six following days. Mr. Sedgwick also left his books, amounting to some thirteen hundred volumes, as an heirloom to the Lodge.

The College received other considerable benefactions about this time. Ferdinando Smythies, B.D., Vice-President, gave in his life-time (about 1725) £1500 Bank Stock, the interest of which was to be employed to found three scholarships for B.A.s of £20 each, to be held in addition to any scholarships they may have, to give each of the Almswomen 1*s.* a week in addition to their former allowance and £2 each annually to buy coals and cloaks: the residue (if any) to be applied to pay for the degrees of poor scholars or to buy them books, or assist them in sickness, or in such other charitable uses as shall be thought proper by the President. But, writes Dr. Plumptre,

“by reason of the fall of interest of Bank Stock these scholarships do not hold out now above £16 per annum, and from the rise in the price of coals the Almswomen’s quantity would have been considerably lessened, if it had not been agreed by the Master and Fellows to give them a chaldron of coals annually instead of a fixed sum of money.”

David Hughes, B.D., who died in 1777, and had been for many years Senior Fellow, made the College his residuary legatee. By this disposition the College got his books, whereby the Library was enriched by more than 2000 volumes, and £2400 in the Funds. The application of the money was left by the will to the President, and has been applied to provide Prizes. Mrs. Mary Buck, whose first husband was Ralph

Davenant, gave the Rectory of Sandon in 1736. The Rectory of South Walsham and the Vicarage of Rockland St. Peter's in Norfolk were purchased in 1734 with money left for the purpose by several persons, *e.g.*, Dr. Ralph Perkins, Fellow, Canon of Ely, Dr. Hayes, Fellow, &c.

The writer of the MS. history was elected to succeed Mr. Sedgwick, Nov. 12th, 1760. Robert Plumptre

“ was the youngest of ten children of John Plumptre, Esq., a gentleman of moderate estate in Nottinghamshire, and a Member of Parliament above forty years, most of which time he was representative of the town of Nottingham. He received his school education under Dr. Henry Newcome at Hackney, from whence he was removed to Queens' College in April 1741. . . . He was chosen Fellow March 21st 1745, and his Fellowship had been vacated in 1755 by his being preferred, in succession to his elder brother Charles (Fellow of Queens' and Archdeacon of Ely), to the Rectory of Wimpole, and Vicarage of Whaddon, both in Cambridgeshire, by the favour of the then Lord Chancellor Hardwicke (High Steward of the University). In Sept. 1756 he married the second daughter of Dr. Newcome, his former schoolmaster (by whom he has had ten children, nine of whom are living in 1784), and in about a fortnight after, and about two months only before resigning the Seals, his kind and most excellent patron gave him a Prebend in the Church of Norwich. He took the degree of D.D. Oct. 18th, preceding his election, *per saltum*, not having till then taken that of B.D.”

Dr. Plumptre was Vice-Chancellor in 1761–1762, when an address was presented to George III. at St. James', Sept. 3rd, 1762, on the occasion of the birth

of George IV. (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 308). Dr. Plumptre contributed to the Verses written in the honour of the marriage of George III., of the Prince's birth, and again in celebration of the Peace of Fontainebleau. Another contributor to these compositions was the Hon. John Grey, one of the three brothers, sons of the Marquess of Stamford, who presented, in 1766, the three pictures of Queen Elizabeth Widville, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas Smith (painted by Thomas Hudson, whose pupil Sir Joshua Reynolds was), which adorn the upper end of the Hall. Soon after the Duke of Grafton had succeeded his Grace of Newcastle as Chancellor, a change was made in the academic dress of the Undergraduates which deserves to be chronicled in passing. The head-gear of the undergraduates had been a round cap or bonnet of black cloth, lined with black silk or canvas, with a brim of black velvet for pensioners, and of prunella or silk for sizars. The undergraduates now petitioned the Chancellor to obtain consent for them to wear square caps, that they might attend his installation "in a dress more decent and becoming," stating that the Heads of Houses had no objection to the proposed change. The Duke intimated to the University that the square cap might be adopted by the undergraduates, and this was done. "In this quiet way was a change made in a trifling matter, which if it had happened in the days of Whitgift and Cartwright would have set the whole University in an uproar" (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 356). This was in 1769, and in that year, Dr. Law having resigned the Professorship of Casuistry on his appointment to the See of Carlisle, Dr. Plumptre succeeded to the Professorship.

There was at this time an agitation that B.A.s, who were required to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, should be released from this requirement, which resulted in 1772 in the substitution of a declaration, "I, A. B., do declare that I am a *bonâ fide* member of the Church of England as by law established." In the agitation a member of Queens' College took a leading part. This young gentleman was Charles Crawford, a Fellow-commoner of Queens', who presented to the Vice-Chancellor a petition signed by a numerous body of undergraduates, praying to be released from subscription to the Articles on the ground that their academical studies did not leave them time "to inquire into the abstruser points of theology." As the Vice-Chancellor took no notice of the document, Mr. Crawford went to him and addressed him in these terms :

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I wait upon you again concerning the petition of the undergraduates, and would beg to be indulged with a few moments hearing. We have received as yet no direct answer to our petition, which with great submission we think deserves one. It has been intimated to us, however, that it is thought improper to grant us our request at this time, lest those in authority in the University should be said to favour the petition of the clergy. We have been told that after that is presented to Parliament we may expect relief. Our petition we think to be quite independent of the petition of the clergy. We beg that our subscription to the Articles may be dispensed with, not because we object to any of them, but because we have not had an opportunity to study them. You must consider, Sir, that there are some who have subscribed their names who are to take their degrees in a few days: they there-

fore claim an immediate relief. The most zealous advocates of the Church will not impute to you a desertion of its cause by granting our request; for all mankind with one voice cry out against the imposition we speak of as absurd and illegal, which an arbitrary Stuart, in the wantonness of his power, had pleased to establish in the University. What answer, Sir, shall I carry back to the rest of the subscribers?"

The Vice-Chancellor then said that there were many names erased in the petition, that other persons were also willing to erase their names, and that he had not power to grant the petition. In this episode Mr. Crawford appears in the light of the plausible petitioner. We see him next as an injured innocent. He indicts the Porter of Queens' College and others for an assault. The case was finally decided in the King's Bench, when it appeared that Mr. Crawford was expelled the College by an order of Sept. 27th, 1773, made by the Master and two Fellows, but confirmed by a College order Jan. 13th, 1774, under the hand of the Master and ten Fellows. Mr. Crawford afterwards came into the College garden with intent to take possession of his rooms, whereupon the defendants took hold of him and conducted him out of the College. Mr. Crawford contended that his expulsion was illegal and unstatutable, and consequently that the assault was not justifiable. But the Court gave judgment for the defendants, intimating that Mr. Crawford as a Fellow-commoner was a mere boarder and had no corporate rights, but, if he had, his only mode of redress was by an appeal to the Visitor; consequently that the order of expulsion must be taken to be a right sentence till voided or set aside by the Visitor, and the

defendants acting under it were thereby justified in the assault (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 363 and 378). Is it to be supposed that the Vice-Chancellor was very sorry to have seen the last of Mr. Crawford?

Dr. Plumptre narrates two events in his history at a length for which he apologises, on the ground that "he has done little more than state facts which scarce any one was so well enabled to state as himself, which he hopes may amuse the curious, or even perhaps afford a degree of use to posterity." One of the events led to his second tenure of the Vice-Chancellorship, the other arose out of his occupation of that office. They must be described more succinctly here. In 1777 Dr. Thomas, Master of Christs', and Dr. Plumptre, President of Queens', were the two heads nominated for the office of Vice-Chancellor, and it being Dr. Thomas's turn to serve he was duly elected (November 4th). Dr. Thomas pleaded that his health would not allow him to take office ("he had the gout slightly in one hand"). A grace to excuse him on payment of a fine was proposed but rejected. However, Dr. Thomas refused to be sworn in, and the University was left for a month without a Vice-Chancellor. Business was at a standstill, so the Master of Trinity, Dr. Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, and the Provost of King's, Dr. Cooke, approached Dr. Plumptre. He told them that "he would be as much ashamed to pass the office over to a junior as he was unwilling to take it before a senior," and that if Dr. Thomas was formally relieved of the Vice-Chancellorship, he would, if elected, serve. On consideration of the situation the Heads determined that the proper course would be, as Dr. Thomas had been

chosen by the Senate at large, for the Senate at large to have his excuse laid before it *de novo*, and approve or disapprove of it. There remained the difficulty that there was no one to call the Heads together. They agreed to sign a request to the Heads to meet: they met, the proposed course of action was approved by the meeting, and communicated to the Proctors. A congregation was called, Dr. Thomas' excuse was received, and allowed by a large majority. The heads then pricked Dr. Plumptre and Dr. Goddard, Master of Emmanuel, for the office of Vice-Chancellor, and on the following day (December 3) Dr. Plumptre was elected and immediately sworn into office. (See also Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 386-387).

The second event was this. William Howell Ewin, LL.D., of St. John's, had been accused before the preceding Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Chevalier, Master of St. John's, of lending sums of money at exorbitant interest to Mr. Bird, Fellow-commoner of Trinity, who was a minor, without his tutor's consent. There was no definite statute against the practice, and a doubt arose whether the Vice-Chancellor could take cognisance of the offence. Eminent counsel were consulted, and unanimously gave it as their opinion that the offence was cognisable in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, and punishable, if proved, by suspension, expulsion, or other academical penalty. Dr. Ewin had written to Dr. Hinchliffe, Master of Trinity, acknowledging his fault and promising not to offend again. But the charge was brought afresh before Dr. Plumptre as Vice-Chancellor, and tried before him and the Heads (October 14th, 1778). Dr. Ewin protested against the citation and pleaded "not

guilty" under protest. The charge was fully proved and there was no real defence. The Court adjourned till October 21, when the defendant raised further objections and then left the court. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads gave sentence that the defendant should be suspended from his degrees, and expelled the University. Dr. Ewin thereupon appealed to Delegates—the Delegates chosen were Dr. Watson, Regius Professor of Divinity, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Halifax, Regius Professor of Civil Law, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph's, and Mr. Yates, Fellow of St. Catharine's. These delegates reheard the case, withdrew the sentence of expulsion but confirmed the sentence that the accused should be suspended from his degrees. This revision of the sentence was, no doubt, a compromise. Dr. Plumptre is unable to understand it, but compromises are not always logical. However, possibly encouraged by this, Dr. Ewin took the case to the King's Bench, where the sentence was reversed, and it was ordered that the accused person should be restored to his degrees. The ground for this decision given by Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice, was, that there being no University Statute against the offence, the punishment of it was not within the jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor's Court. The practice indicted being dangerous to the existence of the University, proofs of the charge should, said the Chief Justice, have been laid before the Senate, which might have passed sentence of expulsion upon him, or such other sentence as it should have judged proper to his crime. On which Dr. Plumptre comments :

"This mode of proceeding the Vice-Chancellor had carefully avoided, because he saw that in Dr. Bentley's

case it had been reprobated by the Court of King's Bench as contrary to natural justice, because, the Senate not being a Court of Judicature, the accused person could not make his defence before it. As he very sincerely submits his opinion (as he ought to do) to that of the Court, he presumes that he did not sufficiently distinguish between the two cases, and can only lament his error in an instance in which he most earnestly wished to do right, and which called for such exemplary punishment."

"Who shall decide, when doctors disagree?" Everyone will sympathize with Dr. Plumptre in his legal dilemma. There is an account of the case in Cooper, "Ann.," 388-389, and the sequel is given 392. Dr. Ewin was restored to his degrees, but his name was struck out of the Commission for the county and a Grace was passed to stop "this most pernicious evil."

Dr. Plumptre may be quoted for the last time to describe the internal events of his Presidentship.

"In regard to Collegiate affairs worth recording in this time they are only as follows. That in the summer after his election, the offices on the North side of the Lodge Gallery were built for him at the College expense, in lieu of some that had stood on part of the ground of the new building erected in Mr. Sedgwick's time. The inside of the Chapel was likewise entirely refitted, as it now (1784) appears, in the years 1774 and 1775, and the Library enlarged at the same time by taking into it the principal part of a set of rooms that were between that and the Chapel, making the remaining part into a Gallery to the Chapel for the use of the Master's family."

These alterations require some explanation. The College Order for building the offices, a low range on the garden side of the Lodge, is dated March 11th, 1761. Fortunately the buildings are not visible except from the President's garden. The alterations in the Chapel are the natural sequel to the alterations in the Hall made during the preceding Presidentship. The Chapel had been refitted in 1661 after the ravages of William Dowsing (see p. 170). The organ was repaired by the celebrated Thamar in 1679, ("Magn. Journ.," vi. 189), and a new organ bought in 1710 at a cost of £164 6s. 10½d. ("Magn. Journ.," September 1710). The chapel, as it then appeared, is described by Cole (MS. II. 13 to 18, quoted by Willis and Clarke, ii. 40-41), February 22nd, 1742, and he paid fresh visits and noted the alterations in progress July 2nd, 1768 and March 30th, 1773. Parts of his description are worth quoting.

"Come we now to ye Chapel, w^{ch} as I said before takes up ye better half of ye S. side of ye 1st Quadrangle, and has a Tower at ye W. end of it: y^e Altar is railed round and stands on an Eminence of 3 Steps, and is intirely covered with Crimson Velvet wth a gold Fringe at all ye joynings of it: in ye Front of it in a Glory is a I. H. S. finely wrought with gold: on an Eminence on ye Altar agst ye Wall is placed an handsom silver gilt Bason, wth two large Candlesticks of ye same sort, and on y^{se} is wrote at ye bottom: *Deo et Sacris Reginalibus Cantabr: Edw: Martin Præsid:* on ye Bason ye same except ye Presidents name. . . . The upper end of ye Chapel is entirely Wainscoted with Cedar from ye Pulpit, w^{ch} is a small one of old workmanship and stands in an Arch of ye S. wall, on one side, and from ye Vestry Door w^{ch} exactly fronts ye Pulpit,

on ye other side. Over this Door stands ye Organ Loft supported by two Iron Pillars in ye Chapel: and ye Organ, w^{ch} is a very handsome one, stands sideways in ye N. wall of ye Chapel and has a way up to it by ye Vestry. The Chapel is furnished on both sides with 2 Ranges of Stalls and wainscoted in ye old manner, but very neatly: ye Roof is arch'd and wainscoted, and finely gilt and painted. There are more Monuments in this Chapel than one would have expected to have met with considering ye Bigness of it, some of which are very curious ones and of good Antiquity. . . ."

"The Chapel in the Spring of 1773 was entirely taken to Peices and new modelled, tho' it seemed to want it very little; every old and modern Tomb Stone being taken up from the Floor, the Altar Peice taken away, with the stalls and the blew coved Ceiling taking down in order to refit it entirely. . . . The Ceiling being altered from a cove to a flat one, the East Window was forced to be lowered. All the Monuments and Stones were taken away and those on the Walls put in different positions to answer one another. The West End was enlarged (by putting back the Screen some 3 feet) and a curious painted Room above the Entrance into it converted into a Gallery for the Master's Family."

The College Orders explain the progress of these alterations. On December 23rd, 1772, it was agreed to refit the inside of the Chapel according to Mr. Essex's plans, to make a Gallery for the Master's family "out of part of the rooms late Mr. Thwaites's" and to take the remaining part into the Library: to appoint Mr. Essex Surveyor of the work with 5 per cent. on the outlay and to shut up the Chapel on Lady-Day in order to begin the work. February 22nd, 1773, it was agreed to fit the room over the Butteries for use as a

temporary chapel. March 16th, 1773, it was agreed in refitting the Chapel to make a vault under it, "to fit up the Ante-Chapel with the Cedar wainscot now about the Communion Table, to set up the Pew now used by the Master's family in the Chancel of St. Botolph's Church, and that the room which was formerly the Vestry be again used as such." April 12th, 1773, agreed that the new Pavement of the Chapel be of Ketton stone with black dots. July 5th, 1774, agreed to pave the Chapel passage with Yorkshire stone, and to wash the plain part of the Ceiling and Walls in the Chapel a Naples yellow. January 16th, 1775, agreed that the area of the Communion Table in the Chapel be enclosed with wooden palisades in imitation of iron with a Mahogany rail upon them; to change away the Candlesticks belonging to the Communion Table and the flagons; to have new patens for the bread and a new bason for collecting the Alms, all of Silver Gilt, and the present two Cups new gilt; that the furniture of the Communion Table be entirely new, and that the old furniture be given to St. Botolph's parish. The last order on the subject arranges for the opening of the Chapel on May 8th, 1775, so that it was closed for two full years for these alterations, which remained undisturbed until 1845. The Library, which still was confined to the upper floor, was increased by the addition of the greater part of the set of rooms, which had up to this time intervened between the Library and the Chapel.

To Dr. Plumptre's time also belongs the alteration of the windows in the older part of the College. The process began in 1774 and continued during the next

eight years at intervals. It was ordered that the stone window-frames should be scraped and painted a stone colour. The eaves in the interior of the Court had been changed into parapets at some date subsequent to 1688. The date of the change is not recorded. But happily the Court has escaped the fate with which it was threatened at the end of the last century, when it was proposed to stucco the building and cut the windows down to square heads (see Willis and Clark, ii. 51-52). The Walnut Tree Court was partially rebuilt after a fire, 1778-1782. £1490 of Hughes' benefaction was employed for this purpose.

The Plumptres were a clever family. Henry Plumptre, the Fellow of Queens' who was afterwards President of the College of Physicians, was Robert Plumptre's uncle. Henry's son, Russell Plumptre, was also a Fellow and was Regius Professor of Physic, 1741-1793. Charles Plumptre, the President's elder brother, was Fellow and Archdeacon of Ely. The President's second son, James Plumptre, Fellow of Clare, was the dramatist, and his second and third daughters, Anna and Annabella, were literary ladies of considerable note.

One of the College orders passed in Dr. Plumptre's later years introduces the name of his famous successor. On February 28th, 1782, leave was granted to Mr. Milner "to build a Chemical Laboratory in the Stable Yard adjoining to the Coal-house," an order interesting as showing that Milner had turned his attention to scientific studies. Isaac Milner was born at Leeds, January 11, 1750. He was sent to the Grammar School of that town, but, owing to his father's death, when he

was only ten the boy was taken from school and set to earn his living as a weaver. His elder brother, Joseph Milner, was appointed to the school at Hull, in 1768, and took Isaac with him, and, whether the story that the lad was found reading Tacitus at his loom is true or not, he had already made considerable progress in Classics as well as in Mathematics. In 1770, he entered Queens' College as a sizar, having, according to the story, tramped on foot with his brother all the way from Hull. The sizars still performed such menial duties as ringing the Chapel bell and bringing up the first dish to the Fellows' table, and there is little doubt about the substantial truth of the story that Milner, when waiting on the Fellows in Hall, being reproved for his clumsiness with a tureen of soup, said, "I will abolish this nuisance when I am in power," a prediction which his position afterwards enabled him to fulfil. In the Tripos of 1774, Milner was Senior Wrangler. It is said that he was utterly dissatisfied with his own work in the examination and despondent about the result. But his performance was in reality so brilliant that in issuing the list the Moderators wrote *Incomparabilis* after his name. Milner was also first Smith's Prizeman. His election to a Fellowship (January 10th, 1776), followed as a matter of course, and as early as 1780 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He became Rector of St. Botolph's in 1778, retaining the living until 1792. He had already acted as Deputy to the Professor of Chemistry, when in 1783, the year after his erection of his Chemical Laboratory, he was appointed to the newly founded Jacksonian Professorship of Natural Philosophy, a chair which he held till 1792, when he was Vice-Chancellor.

Gunning ("Reminiscences," i. 236) describes his lectures as being amusing rather than profound. In 1798, Dr. Milner became Lucasian Professor of Mathematics and held the chair until his death in 1820.

Isaac Milner's intimate friendship with William Wilberforce commenced in 1784, when they met at Scarborough. The two friends travelled in company for the greater part of a year. They read and discussed the Greek Testament together, and Wilberforce describes his friend, as he was at this time, in terms which show that Milner altered little in character during later years. In 1786, Milner's Divinity Act for B.D., excited great attention on account of his high reputation for ability, which he more than maintained by his performance ("Gunning," ii. 48). Milner, who was Moderator in 1780, 1783, 1785, enjoyed an unrivalled reputation for his skill as an examiner, and it was common for the Moderators to call him in to settle the position of candidates whom they had been unable to separate. Thus Gunning ("Reminiscences," i. 83) relates how in his own year, 1788, Milner was called in to decide the Senior Wranglership between Brinkley of Caius and Outram of St. John's.

"The examination was conducted with great seriousness and decorum on this occasion; but it not unfrequently happened that, when examining the brackets, Milner was in the habit of indulging in jokes at the expense of those unfortunate men who, when dissatisfied with their situation, had caused him to be called in. Milner had a very loud voice, combined with a peculiar shrillness, by which he could make himself heard a considerable distance. He was in the habit of calling dull and stupid men *sooty*

fellows; and when he had a class of that description to examine, he would call out to the Moderators, who were at the other end of the Senate House, '*In rebus fuliginosis versatus sum.*' Among the Moderators and Examiners of that day Milner had, and continued to have, during many years, a prodigious influence, and was frequently called upon to settle the places of men in the higher brackets."

Isaac Milner was elected President in succession to Dr. Plumptre in November 1788. His preferment to the Deanery of Carlisle took place in 1791, so that Milner was President at 38 and Dean at 41 years of age. His promotion to the Deanery was due to the influence of William Pitt's tutor, Bishop Tomline, rather than to William Wilberforce. As Dean Dr. Milner was regular in presiding at the great Chapter Meetings, but he did not reside at Carlisle for very lengthy periods. However, the undergraduates of Queens' seem to have thought otherwise, if the story is true that they tore the brass knocker off the President's Lodge, and forwarded it to Carlisle with a message, that perhaps it might be of some use to the Dean at Carlisle, for it was of no use in Cambridge. At Carlisle Milner enjoyed great popularity, and when he preached attracted such vast congregations that in Paley's phrase "you could walk over the heads of the people." A story is told of the Dean that on one of his journeys north he called on his friend Richardson, the well-known Evangelical, at York, and found a maid washing the doorsteps. On his next journey he repeated the visit, and finding the same maid engaged on the same work called out to her, "What, lass, hast not thou finished that step yet?"

“The University,” says Mr. Gunning, “never perhaps produced a man of more eminent abilities than Dr. Milner.” But despite this high praise Mr. Gunning is always glad to rake up anything he can that tells against Dr. Milner. Thus Mr. Gunning relates at full length how Milner, from the time when his election as President became imminent, pleaded ill-health, his alleged object being to escape the office of Vice-Chancellor. Whatever truth there may be in this story, Dr. Milner was elected Vice-Chancellor in 1792 and his year is memorable for the prosecution of Mr. Frend. The Rev. William Frend, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, published in the spring of 1793 a pamphlet entitled “Peace and Union recommended to the Associated bodies of Republicans and Anti-Republicans.” The pamphlet created some excitement, and members of the University waited upon the Vice-Chancellor to express a wish that the work should be censured by the University. On March 4, a meeting was held in Queens’ Lodge, at which it was resolved to prosecute the writer in the Vice-Chancellor’s Court, and a Committee was appointed to manage the prosecution. Mr. Frend was summoned to appear on May 3, to answer a charge of having violated the statutes of the University by attacking the Church of England. Mr. Frend declined to own the jurisdiction of the Court, but, this objection being overruled, the case against him was set forth, and the Court was adjourned until May 10, to give Mr. Frend time for his defence. On that day Mr. Frend denied the articles against him, asserting them to be false, wicked and malicious. Then evidence for the prosecution was given, which occupied the Court May 10, 11, and 13. On May 17, Dr. Kipling the pro-

moter summed up the evidence. On May 24 Mr. Frend made his defence, to which Dr. Kipling replied. On May 27, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads met to consider their decision, which was delivered on May 28, to the effect that Mr. Frend was proved to be the author of the pamphlet, that he had offended against the statute "*De Concionibus*," and must publicly retract his error. Mr. Frend on May 30 declined to do this; he said he would sooner cut off his hand than sign the paper. Upon this the Vice-Chancellor addressed the University and pronounced a decree, signed by himself and nine other Heads of Houses, banishing Mr. Frend from the University. From this sentence Mr. Frend appealed, but the Delegates, Sir William Wynne, LL.D., of Trinity Hall, John Hey, D.D., of Sidney Sussex, John Barlow Seale, D.D., of Christ's, John Lane, M.A., of Queens', and Edward Christian, M.A., of St. John's, unanimously affirmed the Vice-Chancellor's sentence. And Mr. Frend's application to the King's Bench for a *mandamus* also failed. Mr. Frend was also removed from the precincts of Jesus College by resolution of the Master and Fellows, and his appeal to the Visitor, the Bishop of Ely, against this sentence was dismissed (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 447 ff., Gunning, "Reminiscences," i. 255 ff.). Mr. Gunning criticises Dr. Milner's conduct in the following terms:

"to an attentive observer of the proceedings in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, it was apparent from the first that the Vice-Chancellor was determined to convict, otherwise the blunders of the Promoter were so gross and so palpable, that he must have been defeated. In the examination of witnesses, the forms established in courts of justice were

constantly violated, and every objection brought forward by Frend, whether founded on the statutes of the University or on the maxims of civil law, were (*sic.*) overruled by Dr. Milner."

It is probably true that Milner showed his feelings very plainly, and also true that his manner was always characterized by a tinge of despotism. But Milner was a strong and convinced Tory, and no one of any fairness will suppose that he did not act in accordance with what he believed to be the interests of the University and the requirements of the case.

On Dr. Milner's government of his College Mr. Gunning is equally severe. Commenting on the statement of Milner's biographer, that previously "Queens' College had greatly decreased in reputation; from this time, however, this College, once distinguished by the residence of Erasmus, steadily and rapidly advanced in character and importance," Gunning says:

"It is very true that the College entirely changed its character, and that the Society, which, under the Presidentship of Dr. Plumtre, had been distinguished for its attachment to Civil and Religious Liberty, became afterwards as remarkable for its opposition to liberal opinions. By the assistance of his brother (who was a learned and devout man, and discharged most conscientiously the duties of a schoolmaster and clergyman at Hull) the number of students increased; but the majority of them were men who in those days were termed *Methodists*, afterwards *Calvinists*, and then *Serious Christians*. Previously to his being President these Low-Church doctrines had been entirely confined to Magdalene College. . . . Dr. Milner soon acquired that entire ascendancy over the Fellows,

that after a few years no one thought of offering the slightest opposition to his will. Hammond married and left the College; Fyshe Palmer was transported for sedition in Scotland; Jordan took a living; also Marris (formerly called *Beau Marris*); Plumptre went to the Bar and vacated his Fellowship; and George Hewitt, who had lived on a curacy at Eversden, was ordered into residence as a lenient punishment for his irregularities in the country, of which the President said 'he was in possession of the strongest proofs.' John Lodge Hubbersty was also a Fellow: he was described in the Gazette as 'Fellow of Queens', Master of Arts, Doctor of Medicine, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Lancaster, a Cotton Spinner and a Bankrupt.' I understood that at the last College Meeting at which Milner was present, he recommended Hubbersty (who had shown some disposition to oppose him) to be prepared to prove at the next Meeting that he was *statutably* a Fellow of that Society."

The animus of this passage is more evident than its argument. Was it a proof of Milner's tyranny, that Fellows took livings, or went to the Bar or even were transported for sedition? * That there were proofs of Mr. Hewitt's irregularities will unhappily appear only too probable to those who have heard the stories still current of the conduct of that eccentric gentleman. And the question might fairly be raised whether Mr. Hubbersty did hold one of the Dispensation fellowships: if he did not, his fellowship should have been resigned, whether or not he 'showed some disposition to oppose the President.' The words "Civil and Religious

* "Thomas Fyshe Palmer, M.A., was expelled the College on account of his seditious conduct" Jan. 16th, 1794 (Order-book).

Liberty," all with capitals, disclose the reason of Gunning's dislike. Gunning was a Whig, Milner was a Tory, who appeared to Gunning, in those days when party spirit ran so high and Whigs were accused of being Jacobins, Revolutionists and what not, to be a strong-handed oppressor of the party to which he belonged. That Milner was a strong Evangelical and did all in his power to make the College Evangelical there is no doubt. But the fact that a man of Milner's known views was President was in itself a sufficient reason why men of Evangelical views should join the College. To the period belong the names of men so deservedly esteemed as John and Henry Venn, both Fellows. And it cannot be seriously disputed that the prosperity of the College revived considerably under Milner's rule. Its members were elected to fellowships in other societies. The numbers were maintained, when the numbers at most colleges diminished seriously, during the French War. In 1813 the College stood fourth on the list in point of numbers. And during what may be called the forty years' supremacy of Milner (1780-1820) there were four Senior Wranglers, Ingram in 1784, Harrison in 1793, Thomas Penny White in 1802, and Joshua King in 1819; G. H. Law, the future Bishop of Bath and Wells, was second Wrangler and first Chancellor's Medallist in 1781, while men high in the list are quite common, a sufficient proof that the College attracted able men and that it was most efficient as a place of education. It is easy to prove that Dr. Milner's rule, if despotic, was able and conducive to the prosperity of the College, and that being granted, the reader may choose for himself between the eulogies of Miss Milner,

the Dean's niece and biographer, and the disparagement of Mr. Gunning.

In the great flood of February 10th, 1795, the water invaded Queens' College. The river rose suddenly in the evening, and it is said that a member of the College returning home from a ball, quite unconscious of what had taken place, sprang from the top of the steps in the Cloisters, and was not a little surprised to find himself up to his waist in water.

The name "Kidman's Staircase," applied to the staircase which leads from the east end of the Gallery in the Lodge to the President's garden, arose from an occurrence of this time. Burglaries had been frequent in Cambridge for some time, and several colleges had lost considerable quantities of plate. The offenders were at last discovered to be William Kidman, a whitesmith, William Grimshaw, a chimney-sweep, and Henry Cohen, a Jew who disposed of the plunder, and these three rascals were brought to justice in 1801. Kidman, the story goes, had determined to rob Queens' College and had entered the Lodge from the garden by this staircase. But Dr. Milner was sitting up late in the Gallery reading, Kidman saw the light from his lamp under the door and ventured no farther (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 470, Willis and Clark, ii. 22).

Dr. Milner was Vice-Chancellor again in 1809. During his year of office a curious action for slander was brought in the King's Bench by Dr. Browne, Master of Christ's, against Mr. Renouard, Fellow of Sidney, when Dr. Milner as Vice-Chancellor claimed cognisance of the case, and ultimately his claim was allowed. The Vice-Chancellor appointed a day for proceeding with

the case, but the plaintiff not appearing the case was dismissed ("Life of Milner," 383-421). In 1811 Dr. Milner was one of the principal speakers at a crowded meeting in the Town Hall, at which the Cambridge Auxiliary Bible Society was established. This meeting gave rise to a controversy between Dr. Milner and Dr. Herbert Marsh, who opposed the project on the ground that it was not right to circulate the Bible without the Prayer-book.

It is happily unnecessary to go into the misunderstandings which arose between the President and the Fellows of Queens' College. Dr. Milner's view, and his consequent conduct, were characteristic of the man, and exhibit clearly his resolution to govern the Society to the best advantage and at the same time an iron-handedness which earned him the character of being despotic. Dr. Milner's position is sufficiently illustrated by the following extract from a letter recommending Mr. Thomason, Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College, written in 1807:

"Some time ago Queens' College, of which I have the honour to be Master, was in want of a Tutor; and there not being a person of my own College whom I judged proper for this truly important situation, I fixed upon Mr. Thomason (who took his degree from Magdalene as 5th Wrangler in 1796), after looking very diligently through the whole University; and I was certainly induced to appoint him Tutor of Queens' College, entirely on account of his high reputation for learning, good principles and exemplary conduct" ("Life," 344).

Needless to say Mr. Thomason's career amply justified the President's estimate of him. Dr. Milner's letter of

advice about lectures to another Tutor, the Rev. W. Mandell (3rd Wrangler 1803, Fellow 1805), is interesting as throwing some light upon the educational system of the time :

“The Greek books in which I used to lecture were these : PROSE.—Xenophon’s *Memorab*, as an easy book for pupils who know any Greek at all ; then Demosthen. Orations, as a harder ; Longinus, as still harder and affording to the lecturer a deal to say. VERSE.—I used Euripides and Sophocles : In Latin, select parts of Livy, particularly in Second Punic War. In Morals, Locke’s *Essay* is indispensable ” (“*Life*,” 364).

It is probably due to the fact that this is a hasty note that only one Latin author is mentioned. It would be curious to learn how long it is since Longinus has been selected for the lecture-room, though there is no ground for cavilling at Dr. Milner’s estimate of that author or of what a lecture upon him will entail upon the lecturer.

The story of Kidman narrated above will suggest that Dr. Milner was in the habit of sitting up late to read. This was the case, and dissatisfied with the lamps of the period he determined to invent a lamp for himself. After some attempts he succeeded and obtained a lamp

“as perfect as such an implement could well be. The light was shaded from the reader’s eyes ; it was thrown strongly upon the paper before him ; there was neither shadow nor smoke ; and finally the trimming and adjusting gave no trouble worth mentioning. In fact this lamp was a decided ‘hobby horse’ ” (“*Life*,” 365).

The lamp, it appears, was really so good that many men were glad to procure it, and the Dean's servant carried on a profitable trade in lamps for many years.

Dean Milner, always a big man, attained huge proportions in his later years. This is clear not only from his portraits but from the piece of furniture known as "Milner's chair" in the Gallery of the Lodge, in which two men of ordinary girth can sit, and in which three ladies of slender proportions have contrived to bestow themselves. An investigation of Milner's life soon removes most of the prejudices, which are not unlikely to be felt against him by those who have never troubled themselves to ascertain whether their prejudices were well founded or not. He was big, boisterous and overpowering. His manner perhaps more than his conduct brought upon him the charge of being despotic. On the other hand he was a sincerely religious man; his private papers show a depth of religious feeling and a scrupulous conscientiousness not easily overstated. As to his abilities Mr. Gunning may be quoted again :

"The abilities of the Dean were of the very highest order ; his acquirements most extraordinary ; and the versatility of his talents quite wonderful. It was an observation of Professor Carlyle that 'if the Dean had undertaken to work a lace veil, he would have done it better than any female brought up to the business ' " ("Life," 419).

Isaac Milner was a deeply affectionate man, witness his friendship with Wilberforce and his love for his brother Joseph, to whom he declared that he owed everything. This love led him to complete his brother's Church History, to edit his Sermons and to write his

Life, a task involving enormous labour and engrossing Milner's time for years, but with him a labour of love. He was a very generous man, as was proved repeatedly. And he was very fond of the young, as for instance his kindness to Henry Martyn, when he came to be examined for the Smith's Prizes, and to T. B. Macaulay (Lord Macaulay), when as a school-boy of twelve he came to stay at the Lodge and found the formidable Dean "a delightful companion for a boy." The young Macaulay repeated his visit on two subsequent occasions.

Dean Milner writes during an enforced absence from Cambridge, "Be assured that my heart is in College." One of his last services to the College and the University was to secure the brilliant Orientalist, Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic, afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew. His last days were soothed by the presence of Mr. Wilberforce, who was by his side when he passed away April 1st, 1820. Dr. Milner was a great benefactor to the Library, to which he left by will more than 3000 volumes. "This collection is particularly rich in works on the Reformation and in modern Mathematical Treatises." He likewise left £500 to augment the pensions of the almswomen.

The election of Dr. Milner's successor gave rise to legal proceedings. The person chosen was Henry Godfrey, B.D., who stood 5th on the list of Fellows and was 13th Wrangler in 1802, the year in which Thomas Penny White was Senior Wrangler. But the validity of the election was disputed by William Mandell, B.D., Tutor of the College, 3rd Wrangler in 1803. Two petitions were laid before the Court of Chancery, one

from Joshua King, Fellow of the College, who prayed that the Court, on behalf of the Visitor, would inquire whether the office of Master was vacant, and, if it should be found to be so, whether the Fellows ought to proceed to a new election, or whether the right of appointment had devolved to the Crown. The grounds on which this application rested were, that on the 12th day after the death of Dr. Milner, the Fellows in compliance with the Statutes proceeded to elect a new Master, when Mr. Godfrey was chosen by a majority of votes. Immediately after the election Mr. Godfrey required the Senior Fellow to admit him to the office, when he was informed that it was first necessary for him to sign the declaration of faith required by the Act of Uniformity. Mr. Godfrey, however, neglected this intimation, and, as Mr. King contended, went through the usual form of admission by receiving the keys and a copy of the Statutes. The other petition was from Mr. Mandell, who had been the opposing candidate to Mr. Godfrey at the time of the election. Mr. Mandell stated that Mr. Godfrey obtained a majority of votes by voting for himself as Fellow for Middlesex, although there was at the time another Fellow for that county, and it was provided by the Statutes that there never should be more than one Fellow for Middlesex in the College at one and the same time. Upon this ground Mr. Mandell claimed to be Master of the College. For answer Mr. Godfrey contended that the form of admission was not completed by the delivery of the keys &c., until some subsequent ceremony was performed in the Chapel of the College. This ceremony he had gone through several days after he had signed the declaration

of faith before the Vice-Chancellor. He therefore maintained that he had not violated the provisions of the Act of Uniformity. With respect to the allegations that he was not entitled to vote as Fellow for Middlesex, Mr. Godfrey asserted that it had been the immemorial usage of the College to maintain two Fellows for that county.

The proceedings were protracted, and it was not until March 27th, 1821, that the Lord Chancellor delivered judgment. Lord Eldon decided (1) that Mr. Godfrey must be considered at the time of the election *de iure* Fellow for Middlesex, and therefore that Mr. Mandell's claim to the Mastership fell to the ground; (2) that according to the intention of the Statutes and the constant usage of the College, the admission of the Master was not completed by the delivery of the keys, &c. Hence it was evident that Mr. Godfrey had signed the declaration of faith required by the Act of Uniformity previously to his admission ("St. James's Chronicle," March 29th, 1821; Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 532). The election therefore was declared to be valid. The reason why a majority of the Fellows voted against Mr. Mandell is to be found in the unhappy mental aberration of which he was afterwards the victim. It should be said that Mr. Godfrey gave the College no reason to repent the choice made of him as President during his twelve years' tenure of the office. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1822.

Queens' College appeared in the Courts again a few years later. The question was about the interpretation of a Statute, on which some of the Fellows presented a petition to the King as Visitor, and the point at issue

was whether the concurrent voice of the President was necessary in all College elections. The case for the petitioners was argued by Mr. King, Fellow and subsequently President of the College. The judgment of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, was that by the Statutes of the College the concurrence of the President was required (Cooper, "Ann.," iv. 558).

Half-way up the list of Fellows at the time of Mr. Godfrey's election as President was the name of George Cornelius Gorham. He was the son of a banker at St. Neots, was born 1787, educated by a Quaker, entered Queens' College in 1805, gained the Norrisian Prize, with an essay on Public Worship, and graduated as 3rd Wrangler and 2nd Smith's Prizeman in 1808. "Coming events cast their shadows before." For when he presented himself for ordination, the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Dampier) was so displeased with his views on Baptism that there was a question whether the Bishop would ordain him. But Mr. Gorham stood firm by his views, and the Bishop gave way. Mr. Gorham was elected Fellow in 1810 and held his fellowship until 1827, but, with the exception of the three years 1811-1814, when he came up and took pupils, he resided little in Cambridge, which perhaps is the reason why he was not thought of, when the Mastership became vacant by the death of Dr. Milner. Mr. Gorham devoted himself enthusiastically to the study of geology, and it is no disrespect to the memory of the great Professor Sedgwick to say that, when they were rivals for the Woodwardian Chair in 1818, Mr. Gorham knew more of the subject than his successful competitor.

But the publication of his book on "the History and

Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neots in Huntingdonshire and St. Neots in Cornwall," marked Mr. Gorham's zeal for the study in which he really won his fame, viz., as an antiquary. His subsequent publications on the history of Maidenhead and of his own family "the De Gorrams," bore upon the same subject. The works connected with the unhappy controversy were alone an exception. Into the history of that controversy it is unnecessary to enter here. Suffice it to say that, when he was presented to the living of Brampton Speke by Lord Chancellor Cottenham in 1847, the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Henry Philpotts, insisted on his right to examine before instituting, and after examination refused to institute Mr. Gorham on account of his views on Baptism; that a long litigation with varying results followed; and that the final triumph of Mr. Gorham was at least one cause of important secessions from the Church of England, for instance, Cardinal (then Archdeacon) Manning's. In the end Mr. Gorham was instituted to Brampton Speke in 1851, a public subscription was raised to defray the heavy expenses of the litigation and a testimonial presented to him. Mr. Gorham died at Brampton Speke in 1857. Mr. Gorham spent much care on an edition of the Statutes of Queens' College in 1822.

Soon after Mr. Godfrey's election considerable alterations were made in the Library. The building was re-roofed and repaired throughout at a cost of £300 (Order-book, November 9th, 1820). The Library was still confined to the upper storey. The resolution to incorporate the rooms underneath into the Library was not passed until January 10th, 1837. There were repairs in the Lodge and the Walnut Tree Court and the

Lodge was "furnished at the Master's discretion" (May 29th, 1822). An order of January 17th, 1823, shows that the change in the value of money was being felt. This order runs :

"Agreed that in consequence of the depreciation of the value of money it is equitable that the foundation and other scholarships of small amount should be increased, but that several being inconsiderable rent-charges incapable of augmentation it would be for the advantage of the College to diminish their number by consolidating them and augmenting their value . . . to render them worthy of competition."

As the Library was repaired, so it was catalogued at this time. It was agreed January 13th, 1826, "to print 250 copies of the classed catalogue of the Library now preparing by the Rev. T. H. Horne," *i.e.*, Thomas Hartwell Horne, who was a "ten-year man" and member of the College.

In these days of late dinners it is quite a shock to be reminded how early dinner in Hall was in the first part of the present century. Only in January 1831 was the dinner-hour changed from 3 to 4 P.M., and even then it was ordered that the meal should take place "at 4 o'clock precisely, and that during one month before and after the shortest day it be fixed at 3½ o'clock." And concurrently the hour of Evening Service was altered to 5.30 P.M. Then came supper in Hall at 8 P.M. Riding and walking were practically the only relaxations available for the undergraduate of the period. Boating and cricket were coming into popularity, athletics, football, &c., were still in the future. The

institution of the Boat races and the Cricket-match in 1827 and the Inter-University Boat-race in 1829 speedily popularised and systematized these forms of exercise, and the gradual postponement of the hour of dinner in Hall is to be attributed quite as much to the change of habits consequent upon them as to the dictates of fashionable taste.

CHAPTER X

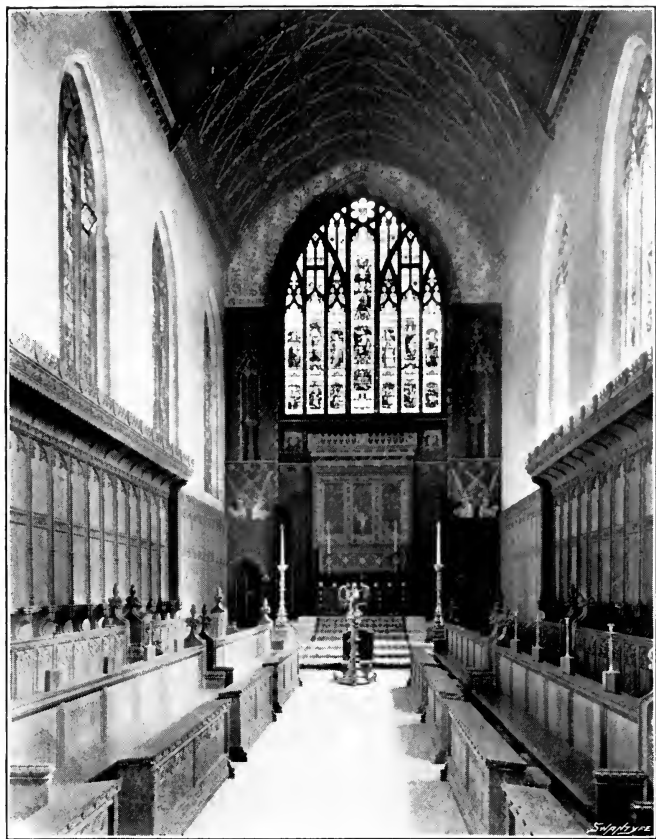
"WITHIN LIVING MEMORY"

"Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit."

Presidents : Joshua King, 1832-1857; George Phillips, 1857-1892; William Magan Campion, 1892-1896; Herbert Edward Ryle, 1896.

THE Senior Fellow of the College, who is a storehouse of information about Cambridge during the reign of Queen Victoria, and who could, if he but would, continue Gunning's "Reminiscences" with the verve and with the knowledge which such a book demands, dates his connexion with Queens' College from the year 1832. Hence the period to be sketched very briefly in this chapter is "within living memory." In 1832, when Mr. John Clark, as a freshman, travelled by coach from York to Cambridge, he carried letters of introduction to the President of the College. But he arrived only to find that Dr. Godfrey was dead and that he was expected, as a member of the College, to attend Dr. Godfrey's funeral.

The succeeding President was Joshua King, who was Senior Wrangler in 1819, was elected Fellow January 14th, 1820, and was Junior Fellow at the time of Dean Milner's death. Mr. King was "allowed to divert to the study of civil law," in other words was dispensed



From a photograph by]

[J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge

INTERIOR OF NEW CHAPEL



from taking orders, January 13th, 1824. In 1829 he was elected Lucasian Professor of Mathematics and held the Chair until 1849, when on his resignation the present distinguished occupant of the Chair, Sir G. G. Stokes, was appointed. At the time of Dr. Godfrey's death Mr. King was Senior Tutor of the College. It was generally desired by the Society that Mr. King should be their President, but by the Statutes the President was required to be in orders, and Mr. King was a layman. A dispensation from the Crown was therefore required for his election, but as Mr. King was a Tory and the Whigs were in power it was feared there might be difficulty in obtaining the dispensation. However, the dispensation was duly granted and Mr. King was elected. He was Vice-Chancellor in the following year, 1833.

In Dean Milner's time there were frequent orders that old plate should be melted down to provide articles of silver for use in the Lodge. Perhaps all the antiquated silver had been treated in this way, or else the funds at the disposal of the Society were larger, for in 1833 £200 was spent on new plate for the College. But three Fellowships were still sequestered and the College was still borrowing money periodically. There is one transaction of this period which can be viewed only with unmixed regret. During the preceding mastership negotiations had been carried on between the University and the College about the site of the old printing press in Silver Street, part of which had been rented by the University from the College but was no longer needed by the University, since the Press had been moved to its present position. The University

and the College had failed to come to terms about this property, and the College now offered the ground to St. Catharine's. The offer was accepted and the property was sold to St. Catharine's in 1836. There were certain restrictions which were intended to preserve Queens' College from danger of any nuisance arising from this site in the hands of its new owners. But the policy of selling was a terrible blunder. At all costs the College should have retained the property, and should have purchased along the north side of Silver Street, until the whole block belonged to Queens'. The alienation of this property entailed the transference of the Almshouses from Silver Street to their present site, which was no doubt convenient then, but is not very suitable now that the College has been extended in this direction.

The system of beneficial leases had proved very detrimental to the permanent interests of the College. The fines paid for the renewal of the leases were divided among the President and Fellows at the time ; nothing was laid by, no provision made for the future welfare of the College. That the plan was prejudicial was now seen. On January 16th, 1845, a most important resolution was passed. It is entered in the books in the handwriting of Dr. Phillips, then Senior Tutor. Dr. King had had a paralytic stroke, and after 1840 only signed his name in the Conclusion-book. The resolution runs as follows :

“The Society being impressed with the conviction that the present system of letting the College property by beneficial leases is highly injurious to the permanent interests of the College, and being desirous of introducing

in the place of the said system the mode of letting upon rack rent, do resolve not to offer . . . [certain leases] for renewal.”

The resolution was repeated on subsequent occasions and the number of beneficial leases steadily reduced. In 1849 the money borrowed at different times by the Society amounted to £10,200. It is not too much to say that this state of things was entirely due to the pernicious system of fines, which were divided as soon as they were received. But the body now set to work in earnest to extinguish the debt. In January 1851, a committee was appointed to frame a new scheme for this purpose. On the report of this committee £2000 was at once paid off and a method of payment was adopted which would clear off the debt in twenty-one years. In 1851 £244 was appropriated for the purpose, in 1852 £269, in 1853 £279 10s., and so on.

In Dr. King's time work of great importance was undertaken in the Chapel and in the Hall.

In 1845 the plaster ceiling of the Chapel was removed. The beams of the old oak roof were found to be in a bad condition, so a new oak roof was made in exact imitation of the original roof. Shortly afterwards the east window was restored and filled with stained glass by Mr. Barnett of York, the cost being covered by subscriptions raised from members of the College. But these were only preliminary steps toward the complete restoration, which followed after Dr. King's death. The renovation of the whole interior was undertaken in 1858. The work was entrusted to Mr. G. F. Bodley, and was finished in 1861. Two sets

of rooms at the south-east corner were taken into the Chapel, to form an organ-chamber, and connected with the chancel by a lofty arch. The altar platform was raised on three steps, and space was made for a reredos by blocking the lower portion (some four feet) of the east window. The reredos was of polished alabaster, inlaid with encaustic tiles, and the east end was paved with encaustic tiles. The wood-work of the stalls was removed and replaced by work on the same plan, but more ornate in character. The general style of the work may be described as Romanesque. A full description of it is given in Willis and Clark, ii. 42-43. The windows on the north side were given, one by Thomas Beavor, Fellow, in 1849, the other by various members of the College in 1850. The central window on the south side was a memorial to Joshua King, the others were given by James N. Goren, Fellow, in 1860 and 1879 respectively. These three windows, which are by Hardman, have now been removed to the south side of the new Chapel. The east and north windows and the reredos remain *in situ*, although the old Chapel is now part of the Library, and oak book-cases run along the north and south sides. The wooden belfry was erected at a cost of £380 in 1848. The bell which it contains is much more venerable. It is inscribed MILES GRAIE FECIT 1637. It is 15 inches across at the top, 30 inches at the bottom, with a depth of 22 inches, and the metal is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick at the top, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom. The bell deserves this much description, not only because of its venerable age but in honour of its clear tones, which have often been distinguished as far as the railway bridge over

the river. The present clock-face was put up in 1853.

In the Hall, between 1819–1822, the oriel window had been ornamented with the arms of the Foundresses, Masters, and other distinguished members of the College, beautifully blazoned and stained in glass by Charles Muss, “enamel painter to the King.” This piece of work cost in all £454 10s. In 1846 the flat ceiling was removed and the old roof uncovered. The ceiling had been attached to the tiebeams of the roof, which were uninjured, but the braces had been cut away and had now to be replaced. The architect of this work, Mr. Dawkes, at the same time constructed the louvre, which, according to the best authorities, is neither correct nor necessary. The windows, which were then divided into three lights by plain mullions, were fitted with new stonework and tracery. In 1854 the oriel was restored and filled with stained glass by Hardman, the glass inserted in 1822 being removed to the Lodge. The cost of these improvements was defrayed by the generosity of Robert Moon, Fellow and afterwards Honorary Fellow. Mr. Moon was not satisfied with the tracery of the other windows. So he again came forward, and had the present tracery, designed by Mr. Johnson, inserted, the windows raised to their present height, and filled with glass by Hardman. The two windows on the west side contain the arms of benefactors, the three on the east side the arms of members of the College who have been bishops. The last available space was filled with the arms of Dr. Bickersteth, who was raised to the See of Ripon in 1857. The uncovering of the old fireplace and the handsome

decoration of alabaster and encaustic tiles, from Mr. Bodley's design, which surmounts it, were also due to the generosity of Mr. Moon. Mr. Bodley completed the woodwork and designed the decoration of the whole Hall in 1875. This work was done at the charges of W. M. Champion, D.D., and George Pirie, M.A., then Tutors of the College.

During the last years of Dr. King's life the University Commission was at work. In November 1851, a committee was nominated by the College to answer the questions put by the Commissioners, and again in January 1853, a fresh committee was constituted to examine the Report of the Commissioners and suggest such alterations as they might deem necessary in the interests of the College. The chief changes made in the Statutes given by these Commissioners were that the obligation to take orders was relaxed and that the Fellows were allowed to marry, a concession not made in most colleges until the Statutes of 1882. A Fellow, who was a layman and married, could retain his fellowship for twelve years from M.A. At the same time an advantage was still given to an ordained Fellow. A Fellow who was in orders, if he remained unmarried, retained his fellowship for life. The Statutes must have been thought to be beneficial, as many, who were already Fellows and therefore had their rights preserved, elected to place themselves under the new code. Joshua King's last signature in the Conclusion-book was written August 17th, 1857.

In succession to Dr. King, George Phillips, B.D., was elected President September 9th, 1857. Born in 1804, Mr. Phillips had engaged in teaching and had published

several mathematical books before he entered Queens' College in 1825. He graduated as 8th Wrangler in 1829, became a Fellow and was almost immediately invited to join the tutorial staff. Mr. Phillips early avowed the conviction that the studies of the University were too restricted in their range, and he more than any man, by his influence and by his example, promoted the study of Hebrew and of the Semitic languages. It was he who discerned the rare abilities of Dr. William Wright, brought him from his post at the British Museum to Cambridge, procured his election to an Honorary and then to a full fellowship at Queens' College, and was instrumental in getting the great Orientalist appointed first Lord Almoner's Reader and then Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic. Never was a wise discernment happier in its results, and never was a College more richly rewarded for the recognition of merit than was Queens' College, when it adopted Dr. William Wright. But this is anticipating later events. George Phillips resided as Fellow and Tutor 1829-1846. It is not a little singular that he accepted the College living of Sandon on the same day, October 12th, 1846, on which his successor in the Presidentship, Dr. Campion, was elected a scholar. It is an open secret that Dr. Campion was not only Dr. Phillip's successor but was his competitor for the Presidentship in 1857. William Magan Campion was 4th Wrangler in 1849, was elected Fellow January 12th, 1850, and became almost at once joint Tutor and soon sole Tutor of the College. He was a vigorous and stimulating teacher. His pupils were highly successful, C. B. Clarke was 3rd Wrangler in 1856, G. B. Finch Senior Wrangler in 1857, G. M.

Slesser Senior Wrangler in 1858, E. J. Stone 5th Wrangler in 1859. The implication made in Sir G. O. Trevelyan's "Cambridge Dionysia," that Queens' Senior Wranglers were considerably above the average age, rests on no basis of fact, so far as the gentlemen are concerned to whom presumably reference is made. The successes of the College at this time were such, that, in allusion to their number and their distinctions, the Queens' men were spoken of as "the Forty Thieves." The energy and the ability displayed by the Tutor of Queens' speedily marked him out as a leader among the rising young men of the University. This was shown by his election to the first Council of the Senate and his appointment to be the first Secretary of that body. It is not surprising that, although only eight years had elapsed since he had taken his degree, Mr. Campion should have been thought of by his contemporaries for the vacant Presidentship. But neither is it surprising that the older members of the body should have deemed Mr. Campion too young for such a post and thought that he might bide his time. The counsel of the seniors prevailed, and George Phillips was recalled from his rectory to assume the Headship of the College. And as Dr. Campion lived to fill the Presidential chair, those who remember with affection Dr. and Mrs. Phillips as well as Dr. Campion may rejoice that the election of 1857 resulted as it did.

The first order written by Dr. Phillips as President, on the very day of his election, is an odd one. "Agreed to give Policeman No. 4 of the Cambridge Police Force two pounds for his exertions in extinguishing the fire in the College on August 25th, 1857." The fire was caused

by the carelessness of an old member of the College, who was allowed to occupy rooms for a few days at a time when the building was almost untenanted. Happily the fire was a very trifling affair, which afforded the two or three people who were sleeping in College, equally with the Policeman, an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. It is a little hard that the active officer's name was not preserved. "Policeman No. 4" makes the officer as impersonal as the "20 K" of the "Cambridge Dionysia" and with less reason.

Dr. Phillips was Vice-Chancellor 1861-1862. His year of office was memorable, because the Prince of Wales was then in residence and because the Duke of Devonshire was elected Chancellor on the death of the Prince Consort. It was peculiarly suitable that Dr. Phillips should install the Duke in his high office, as they had graduated together in 1829, when the Duke, then Mr. Cavendish, was 2nd Wrangler and 1st Smith's Prizeman, and took a First Class in the Classical Tripos. On the occasion of the installation a number of distinguished persons, including the present Chancellor, then Marquis of Hartington, and the Duke of Argyll, then Marquis of Lorne, were admitted to Honorary Degrees. The Gallery of the Lodge was turned into a banqueting-room for the dinner given by the Vice-Chancellor. There is an amusing but apocryphal story that during the banquet "the architect," or perhaps it should be the ghost of the architect, paced the Cloisters wringing his hands in fear that the unwonted strain would bring down his beautiful building. What a pity that he was not accosted and asked his name! Will there ever be such an opportunity of finding out who the architect of

the Gallery was, and when he built it, and whether he put in flat windows on both sides? For the recent laying bare of the Gallery for the purpose of replastering has shown that on the north—but not apparently on the south—the present window in the centre is not original.

In 1867 the wooden bridge over the river was rebuilt at a cost of £367.

As has been already stated, the Hall was completed and redecorated in 1875. In the same year the east front of the College was restored under the superintendence of Mr. W. M. Fawcett. The object of the architect was to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the front as shown in Loggan's print. This restoration ultimately led to Mr. Fawcett's being entrusted with a very important piece of work. The first intimation that the College contemplated building occurs in a resolution of December 28th, 1875, which was passed when agriculture was highly prosperous. And just at the time of the highest agricultural prosperity the last University Commission commenced its labours (1878–1882). There was no reason to suppose that agriculture would be depressed or the incomes of the Colleges diminished. But, before the Commissioners had finished their work, there was a serious shrinkage in the receipts of the Colleges, and the contribution for University purposes, which was intended only to divert the surplus revenue of the Colleges, has in many cases proved to be a serious crippling of the resources necessary for their proper efficiency. But in 1875 such things were undreamt of, the revenue of the College was abundant, and the Society was able in 1876 to invest £5000 in the pur-

chase of an estate at Fulbourne. In 1880, for the first time, the Bursars were authorised to confer with the agent on the question of a reduction of rents. However, the number of men in residence was steadily increasing, and fresh accommodation was needed. The increase in numbers was due, at least in part, to what the present members of the College know as “the new system.” In October 1882 a committee, consisting of Dr. Campion, Mr. Wright and Mr. Temperley (the two Tutors and the Bursar), was appointed to consider “whether students might be allowed the option of paying a fixed sum in advance in lieu of the present College bill.” A scheme for this purpose was devised and adopted. All the fixed charges for University and College expenses were combined into one sum, which students might pay in advance, in place of the system of caution-money and a College bill at the end of the term. In the end the College also furnished the rooms and provided all “College réquisites,” and the charge for the use of these was included in the rent of the rooms. This step was certainly a saving of expense to the undergraduate, and at the same time ensured that the rooms should be kept up to a fair standard of neatness and comfort. The plan has proved popular, and has been commonly chosen by the men. It leaves them freedom. Their meals, except dinner, are taken in their own rooms: the cook’s bill, the grocer’s bill and the like are items, the amount of which depends upon the means and taste of the individual. And those who prefer the full freedom of “the old system” are at liberty to choose that plan. The freshman is offered a choice between “the old system” and “the new

system," and takes whichever of the two he thinks best suited for himself.

However, new buildings being required, it was found possible to provide them by investing certain special funds in the building, paying interest at 3 per cent. to the funds out of the rent of the rooms. It is right to pay a passing tribute to the skill with which the finances were managed for this purpose by Mr. Temperley, the Bursar. The site chosen was the north part of the ground acquired from the Carmelites, which had hitherto been used as a kitchen-garden by the President. Upon this site the "Friars' Building" was erected. Mr. Fawcett's plans were accepted by the College, October 3rd, 1885. Messrs. Rattee and Kett were invited to tender for the work, and the contract with them was signed December 15th, 1885. A red-brick building of four storeys, with stone dressings and red-tiled roof, and containing thirty-two sets of rooms, was erected in 1886. The building is of a style taken from the earlier part of the College. The criticism is sometimes made that the great height and the narrow ends to some extent detract from the undoubted merits of this excellent building. Yet the block is so far from the older buildings that the difference in height is not much noticed. The cost was £8200.

This building was hardly completed and tenanted before the Chapel was found to be too small. It was impossible to enlarge it without encroaching on the Library, and the Library itself was overcrowded, and stood in need of additional space. The only alternative was to build a new Chapel upon another site. This was a serious undertaking for a college of no great size,

suffering severely from agricultural depression. The Chapel would yield no revenue, no existing funds could be applied to its erection, and clearly it could be built only by the free gifts of the members of the College. Mainly through Mr. Wright's untiring zeal, subscriptions of sufficient amount were promised to enable the building of a new Chapel to be authorised, June 16th, 1888.

The New Chapel stands on what was the north side of the old Walnut Tree Court and parallel to the Old Chapel. It forms the division between the Walnut Tree Court and the Friars' Buildings, erected in 1886. The Chapel was designed by Mr. G. F. Bodley, A.R.A., and the work was executed by Messrs. Rattee and Kett. The Chapel is in the late English Gothic style to harmonize with the older College buildings, and is built of the thin bricks used in ancient work, Ancaster stone being largely used in the buttresses and facings. The external length is 107 feet, the width 34 feet. The proportions are lofty, and the eastern gable with its fine seven-light window shows well in Queens' Lane. The sides show windows of three lights, one in each bay. These windows are tall, and the tracery, graceful and characteristic of the style, is certainly very effective. There are two entrances to the Chapel; over the south doorway is finely carved stonework bearing two shields with the crest and badge of the College.

In the Ante-chapel is what appears to be a surplice-press of carved oak: in fact, it is a case to contain and conceal the hydraulic engines for the organ. An oak screen forms a continuous archway across the Ante-chapel from doorway to doorway, and constitutes the

entrance to the Chapel proper. This screen was the gift of Mrs. M. and Messrs. T. and J. G. Weller-Poley in memory of the members of their family who have belonged to the College. On the screen stands the organ in a case of a style corresponding to the screen. The inner side of the screen forms the back of the west stalls. The upper panels on the inner side contain alternately the letters "M" and "B," the initials of St. Margaret and St. Bernard, the patron saints of the College. On the two extreme panels, N. and S., are the letters "A. D." and "G. P.," the initials of Andrew Dockett, the first President, and George Phillips, the President in whose Mastership the Chapel was built. The stalls, with their handsome oak panelling, are dignified, and are surmounted by an overhanging cove, which forms a continuous canopy. The panelling was in 1897 continued from the termination of the stalls to the east end of the Chapel, in memory of the late President, Dr. Campion. The roof is panelled and painted in colours which gain in brilliancy as the east end is approached. The general effect aimed at is dignity of proportion rather than profusion of ornamentation.

The east wall has been coloured, and over the handsome doors, which lead from the Chapel to the room beyond, are pairs of angels holding shields suspended between them. The reredos is painted in rich red and gold, and in it is framed a triple picture of the Old Cologne School representing the Betrayal, the Resurrection and the Appearance to the Eleven. This picture (painted by Schoene?) was in the original Chapel, but had been for many years in the President's Lodge.

In its present position it is most effective and with the beautiful reredos, of which it is a part, forms perhaps the greatest ornament of the Chapel. The altar-cross, candlesticks and vases were given by the Dean, the massive candelabra by Dr. Campion, and the eagle-lectern by the Rev. A. Wright, in memory of Mr. Temperley. Mr. Wright at the same time gave a silver-gilt flagon to complete the Communion plate.

On the south side are the three windows transferred from the Old Chapel, see p. 280. The great east window is a memorial erected by friends to Dr. Wm. Wright. This window and those on the north side are by Mr. C. E. Kempe. The east window has, as the subject of its centre light, the Crucifixion with an Entombment below. The remaining lights contain single figures. The central pair represent our Lord in glory, and the Virgin bearing the Child in her arms; the inner pair St. Botolph (the saint of the parish in which the College is situate, of whose church the first President, Andrew Dockett, was Rector) and St. Etheldreda (the patron saint of the diocese); the outer pair St. Margaret and St. Bernard (the patron saints of the College). Below these figures are a series of New Testament scenes from the life of our Lord: they are the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Women at the Sepulchre, the Appearance of our Lord to Mary, the Supper at Emmaus. It is difficult to imagine a richer effect than this east window gives when it is lighted up by the morning sun. Those who have seen it at such a time will feel that it is not unworthy of its position in the Chapel, or of the great scholar whom it commemorates.

The windows on the north side by Mr. C. E. Kempe are intended to form a series illustrative of English Church History. Of the four at present filled with stained glass the first is the gift of Dr. Campion and the Rev. W. T. Fowke, the second is a memorial to Dr. Phillips, the third the gift of Mr. W. Gibson, Fellow, 1869–1882, the fourth a memorial to Dr. Campion. The figures in the first window are St. Alban, St. Patrick and St. Augustine of Canterbury: under them is a representation of the Fall. In the second window are the Venerable Bede, King Alfred the Great and Archbishop Theodore: below is Abraham's Sacrifice. The third window contains Archbishop Lanfranc with a model of his Cathedral, St. Anselm, holding his *Cur Deus Homo* in his hands, and Archbishop Stephen Langton with the *Magna Charta*: Abraham and Melchizedek are depicted below. The fourth window exhibits Bishop Grosseteste, King Edward I. and Wycliffe with his Bible: below is the Brazen Serpent. The last window, when filled with stained glass, will represent three distinguished members of the College, viz., Erasmus, Bishop Fisher and Thomas Fuller, the Church historian. The Organ was built by Mr. J. J. Binns of Bramley, Leeds. The Prayer-books, bound in dark morocco and stamped with the arms of the College, are the gift of Mr. E. C. Haynes, Fellow, 1868–1881. The whole cost of the Chapel—up to the present time some £14,000 exclusive of personal gifts—has been defrayed by contributions from past and present members of the College.

Dr. Phillips lived to see the Chapel completed. He was present at the Dedication by the Bishop of Ely,

October 13th, 1891, and presided at the dinner given on the occasion in the Hall. He was hale and vigorous almost to the last. Many people will remember the Lent Term 1892, as the Term in which the Dead March was played at Great St. Mary's on five successive Sundays. The members of the University to whom this last tribute was paid were the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Devonshire, Sir George Paget, Professor Adams and Dr. Phillips.

Dr. Phillips' death was followed by the election of Dr. Campion, February 23rd, 1892. The event was hailed with delight by the past members of the College, most of whom had been his pupils, and by many friends in the University and elsewhere. Dr. Campion's Presidentship, if short, was not uneventful. The Chapel was brought several stages nearer completion. The Organ was inaugurated September 27th, 1892, and a number of old members of the College came up to take part in the proceedings. Most of them will remember the sermon preached by the President on the occasion. During Dr. Campion's Mastership the highest academic distinctions were won by Queens' undergraduates. The highest honours in Mathematics, Law and Natural Science were carried off 1894-1896. The highest honours in Classics followed in 1897. But Dr. Campion was not spared to rejoice in this last success of the College, in which he had resided as Scholar, Fellow, President, for fifty-one years. He passed away after a very short illness, October 20th, 1896.

The Fellows then took a step, for which no precedent could be found in the annals of the College for three hundred years. But whereas the last Heads who had

been elected from outside, Dr. Chaderton and Dr. Tindall, had been appointed by the influence of the Crown, the President installed in 1896, Dr. Herbert Edward Ryle, Hulsean Professor of Divinity and Fellow of King's College, was elected by the free and unanimous choice of the Society. The choice won universal approbation, and the members of the College will desire nothing more earnestly than that their present Master may be spared to preside over the royal and religious foundation of which he now is Head. Before Dr. Ryle's tenancy of the Lodge commenced it was restored under the superintendence of Mr. T. D. Atkinson. The old fire-places in the Audit-room and the Gallery were uncovered; the panelling, taken out of the Hall in Mr. Sedgwick's time, was removed from the Servants' hall and put up in the old President's Chamber, which was fitted as the President's Study; the staircase leading from this room to the Cloister Court was reopened; and considerable alterations and improvements were made in the internal arrangements of the Lodge. Another piece of work, done at the same time, and not less important because it obtrudes itself neither upon eye nor nose, was the laying down of a new system of drainage throughout the College.

The new gate between the Chapel and the Alms-houses, the Friars' Gate as it is to be called, is the most recent addition to the College buildings. This was completed in April last. Mr. Wright's appointment to the office of Vice-President in October was some recognition of his splendid services to the College.

The present year, 1898, is the ninth Jubilee of the foundation of the College. In celebration of this event

the President and Fellows entertained a number of old members of the College and representatives of the University in the Hall on Thursday, December 8th, 1898. The gathering was a great success. All who were present will feel stimulated by the past and strengthened for the future.

The principal benefactions received at a date subsequent to those given on p. 244 are these. Dr. Plumptre, President and Canon of Norwich, in 1789 left his MS. Collections for the history of the College and pictures as an heirloom to the Lodge. Dr. Milner, President and Dean of Carlisle, in 1820 left to the Library more than three thousand volumes (see p. 269). John Sandys, Fellow, founded a scholarship in 1840. Thomas Penny White, Senior Wrangler in 1802, Fellow, left a trust-fund to found prizes, one a prize of £30 for the best degree each year, provided the recipient be within the first four in the Mathematical or Classical Tripos. The accumulations up to £300 are by the present regulations given to a Senior Wrangler, who is also placed in the first division of the First Class in the Mathematical Tripos Part II., or a scholar who is placed in the first division of the First Class in the Classical Tripos, and also gains the first Chancellor's Medal. Mrs. Mary King gave in 1880 £1000 to found prizes in memory of her husband, Joshua King, late President. Dr. George Phillips, President, gave in 1887 £1000 to found a scholarship. Dr. Phillips also presented a fine picture of himself painted by Professor Herkomer. The donors to the new Chapel are happily for the most part still alive. Among the contributors who have passed away are Dr. Phillips,

President, Dr. Wm. Wright, Fellow and Professor of Arabic, Ernest Temperley, Fellow and Bursar, Thomas York, Fellow and Bursar, E. J. Stone, F.R.S., Fellow and Radcliffe Observer, J. N. Goren, Senior Fellow for many years, Mrs. Margaret Finch, daughter of Joshua King and wife of G. B. Finch, late Fellow and Honorary Fellow, who with her husband gave £3000, and Dr. W. M. Campion, the late President, who gave £1000 as a first subscription, and considerable sums in gifts and subsequent subscriptions.

To continue the roll of distinguished members of the College since Dr. Godfrey's time, the list includes Philip Yorke, K.G., Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord High Steward of the University (d. 1834); Sir Henry Russel, Fellow, Chief Justice of Bengal (d. 1836); Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, a great authority on English Bibliography (d. 1837); Thomas Creevey, a distinguished M.P., Secretary of the Board of Control, Treasurer of the Ordnance &c. (d. 1838); John George Breay, Prebendary of Lichfield (d. 1839); Dr. William Strong, Archdeacon of Northampton (d. 1842); Dr. Martin Joseph Naylor, Fellow, author of "Discourses on the Evidences of Christianity," &c. (d. 1843); Charles Callis Western, M.P. for Essex, created Lord Western of Rivenhall (d. 1844); George Henry Law, Fellow, Bishop of Bath and Wells (d. 1845); John Brown, an eloquent evangelical preacher (d. 1845); John George Children, scientist and chemist (d. 1852); Theyre Townsend Smith, Hulsean Lecturer, &c. (d. 1852); Dr. Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic, Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. (d. 1852); Dr. William Scoresby, the Arctic explorer

and writer (d. 1857); George Cornelius Gorham, Fellow, antiquary and ecclesiologist (d. 1857); Richard Newcome, Archdeacon of Merioneth (d. 1857); John Toplis, Fellow, mathematician (d. 1857); Philip Kelland, Senior Wrangler in 1834, Fellow, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh; Robert Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon (d. 1884); Dr. William Wright, Fellow, Professor of Arabic, Old Testament Reviser, the great Orientalist (d. 1889); Edward John Stone, F.R.S., Fellow, Astronomer Royal at the Cape, Radcliffe Observer at Oxford (d. 1897).

Imperfectly as it has been told, our story draws to an end. In a sense it is true to say that the history of the College may be read in its buildings. There is no important epoch that is not written in bricks and mortar. There is the first Court to recall the Wars of the Roses. Perhaps no more perfect fifteenth-century buildings are extant. The massive Gate-Tower, the style and arrangement of the blocks to which it leads, the Hall and all its appurtenances are eloquent of the days of Lancaster and York. It is impossible to enter the President's Chamber without thinking of Andrew Dockett and John Fisher. The first addition to the Lodge, the original Gallery, *i.e.*, the old study, was actually built while Erasmus lived and worked in his rooms just the breadth of the Cloister Court away. The present Gallery passed through its various stages to completion, while the Church of England was passing through the different phases of Reformation to the Elizabethan settlement. The Walnut Tree Buildings tell not more plainly of the days of the First James than they testify to the prosperity of the College under the rule

of Bishop Davenant. The taste of the eighteenth century still stands embodied in Essex's Building, though its marks have been obliterated from the Chapel and the Hall. And the nineteenth century may be content to take the new Chapel as the test by which it shall stand or fall.

Is there also a character stamped upon the successive generations which have been housed within these walls? Will it be true to say of the best and most typical men that they have any features in common? They seem to exhibit in common a strong determination that change and progress shall always be in continuity with the past. They were supporters and advocates of reform, but it was a careful and moderate reform, that should not break violently with the past. Such was Erasmus, such was Bishop Fisher, such were Dr. William Mey, Sir Thomas Smith, Bishop Davenant, Dr. Martin, such even the Parliamentary Herbert Palmer, such, if it be allowed to cite a modern instance, Dr. William Wright. There is scarcely a marked exception to this rule. There is hardly a prominent member of the College who wished to pull down the existing fabric of things in the confidence that he could build a better, or to see whether perchance he could improve upon it. If progressive, they have been distinctly moderate; if conservative, they have been undoubtedly willing to progress. They have been men able and willing to look at both sides of a question, to appreciate the position and the motives of those who did not see face to face with them on all points. If this is true, the type is one which the College may well wish to preserve and may well strive to produce. Progress but

not precipitancy, reform but not revolution will not be the least valuable lesson that the College can teach to men, who are to be called “to serve God in Church and State.” “And thus,” to adopt Fuller’s words of farewell to Queens’ College, “I take my farewell of this foundation, in which I had my education . . . in that University. Desiring God’s blessing to be plentifully poured on all the members thereof.”

FLOREAT DOMUS.



APPENDIX

A.—THE LIBRARY.

THE principal benefactors to the Library have been named in the narrative: such are Bishop Davenant (chap. vi.), John Smith (chap. vii.), Henry James and Thomas Clarke (chap. viii.), David Hughes and Isaac Milner (chap. ix.).

An excellent catalogue of the Library in two volumes was compiled for the College in 1826-1827 by the well-known Thomas Hartwell Horne (see chap. ix. *ad fin*). To this the reader may be referred for full information about the Library.

The Library at the time when the catalogue was made contained 30,000 volumes, Mr. Cooper in his "Memorials of Cambridge" gives the number of books as 35,000, at the present time the number is quite 40,000.

There are no MSS. comparable in value to the treasures of the Corpus Christi College Library. The Turkish and Persian MSS. are, according to Dr. Wright, of no great value. There is a MS. of Wycliffe and also a MS. of "Occleve's Poems," valuable for their rarity.

In the MSS. case are placed some black-letter Missals and Breviaries, Spongia Erasmi, with the autograph of Erasmus, and Loggan's "Cantabrigia Illustrata."

The catalogue shows the books that are of special value from their early date by printing their dates in black letter. In addition to the books so distinguished the following may be mentioned:

Shakespeare (William), Comedies, &c.; 4th edition folio, London [P. 2, 3]. This is in good condition and very valuable. The MS. notes in it appear to be of little value.

There are also some early editions of single plays, see Catalogue, p. 964.

There are early editions of Ben Jonson, Massinger, Beaumont and

Fletcher, and some early quarto Collections of Miscellaneous Plays and Poems.

The Library contains a considerable collection of Bibles. Perhaps the most important are Walton's "Polyglott," viz., "Biblia Sacra Polyglotta," ed. Brianus Walton, 6 vols. fol., London 1657 [C. 11, 8-13], and a fine copy of the Antwerp Polyglott, Montanus' Bible, presented by Bishop Chaderton [K. 10, 10-16]. There are two early printed Vulgates, one Naples, folio, 1476 [C. 4, 11], the other Venice, quarto, 1484 [H. 6, 10]. Several of the Hebrew Bibles are early, *e.g.*, the edition in 4 vols., folio, Dan. Bomberg, Venice 1518 [K. 10, 1-4].

There are three very interesting volumes of maps and plans of cities, with figures in costume of the period [D. 4, 1-3].

The Select Discourses of John Smith [H. 7, 35] are of special interest to members of the College. Also Sir Thomas Smith's "chap book," containing a list of his Greek books.

There is a very rare edition of "Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius," Venice, folio, 1487-1488 [C. 2, 13] and some very old editions of other Latin poets, for which see Catalogue, pp. 939, 942, 943, 944. The Library is rich in tracts, of which there are seven hundred volumes, "upon every subject, theological, moral or political, which has been agitated for nearly four centuries."

B.—PICTURES.

In the Hall there are portraits (by Hudson) of Queen Elizabeth Widville, Erasmus and Sir Thomas Smith. In the Combination-Room there is an old panel-portrait on wood of Elizabeth Widville, portraits of Dean Milner (by Harlow), Dr. Campion (by C. E. Brock), Dr. Wm. Wright, Edw. Willes, L.L.B. 1745, Simon Patrick, Fellow, Bishop of Ely, d. 1707, and Thomas Penny White (by Pickersgill), Fellow and Benefactor 1778-1845.

In the President's Lodge, (1) on the Staircase are Commander John Honing, M.P. for Eye 1597, the Duchess of Rutland and the Duchess of Kingston (by Sir Peter Lely), John Ryder, 1697-1775, Fellow, Archbishop of Tuam, Joshua King, President 1832-1857 (by Sir William Beechey), J. L. Hubbersty, Fellow; (2) in the Gallery, George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, Charles II., Oliver Cromwell, Hugh Peters, Mr. Fitzwilliam (by Sir Joshua Reynolds), William Attwood, admitted 1668, two men unidentified, Sir Thomas Smith, Elizabeth Widville, Erasmus (by Holbein), Admiral Caleb Barnes, admitted 1675, Sir Henry Bridgeman 1763, George Phillips, President

1857-1892 (by Prof. H. Herkomer), Sir George Saville, Bart., M.P. 1750, Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., Elizabeth, daughter of James I., Henry, son of James I., Elizabeth Widville, Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I.; (3) in the Audit-room, John Davies, D.D., President 1717-1731, Thomas Walker, LL.D., Fellow, d. 1764, William Sedgwick, President 1731-1760, J. T. Hewit, LL.D., 1753, Robert Plumptre, D.D., President 1760-1788, Daniel Wray (by George Dance), Benj. Langwith, D.D., Fellow, d. 1743, J. L. Petit, M.D., d. 1780, John Hayes, D.D., Fellow, d. 1750, Isaac Milner, D.D., President 1788-1820, Dean of Carlisle (by Opie), Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, d. 1643, Henry Plumptre, M.D., Fellow, d. 1746, Erasmus, John Fisher, D.D., President 1505-1508, Bishop of Rochester, Anthony Sparrow, D.D., President 1662-1667, Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich, the two Foundresses, Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Widville, John Davenant, D.D., President 1614-1622, Bishop of Salisbury, Henry James, D.D., President 1675-1717, Ralph Perkins, D.D., Fellow, d. 1751.

C.—PLATE.

There is little plate of early date remaining, as the College sent almost all the Plate it then possessed to Charles I. in 1642. (See p. 162.) The College has, however, at the present time a considerable quantity of Plate. I believe the boast is still true that "Queens' is the only College where the Hall is provided with silver at all the tables." The collection of silver candlesticks is considerable and some of them are very handsome and valuable.

The most interesting piece of Plate is perhaps "The Compton Cup" 1637. This is a plain cup, the bowl covered with frosting; it has a baluster stem with flame ornamentation on the top member. The weight is $46\frac{1}{4}$ oz., the height 12 inches, the depth and diameter 6 inches. The inscription is "*ex dono prænobilis Jacobi Domini Compton, honoratissimi Comitiss Northamptoniæ filii natu maximi.*"

A good many articles of Plate belonging to Queens' College are described in "Old Cambridge Plate," J. E. Foster and T. D. Atkinson 1896. Such are the Silver Tankard 1683, weight $40\frac{1}{2}$ oz., "*ex dono Mattei Ducie Moreton F. C. 1681*" (Foster and Atkinson, 55); the silver Tankard 1685, weight 38.15 oz., "*ex dono Jacobi Fortrey Armigeri*" (F. and A. 102); the curious silver Toasting-Fork, 1707 (F. and A. 103); Cream-jug, 1761 (F. and A. 110); silver Teapot,

Urn and Stand, 1794 (F. and A. 115); silver Spoons (F. and A. 128 and 129).

Deserving of mention is the Silver Cup and Cover 1775 with two handles; the finial of the cover is in the form of an acorn. Weight 36 oz. "Dono dedit Hon. Charles Hervey, 5th son of the Earl of Bristol," (F. and A. 133). Also the Ewer and Salver, 1699, given by the Hon. W. Villiers, eldest son of the Earl of Jersey, circular, with gadrooned edge, floral patterns and scallop shells at intervals. Weight of Salver 87 oz., the helmet-shaped Ewer weighs 48 oz. (F. and A. 221). The Rose-water Salver and Ewer used by the Fellows are handsome but of modern work.

Interesting Candlesticks are described and illustrated by Messrs. Foster and Atkinson, 136, 137, 145, 151, 152.

D.—THE ARMS OF QUEENS' COLLEGE.

"No College in England (says Fuller, "Univ. of Camb." v. 36) hath such exchange of coats of arms as this hath." Four of the five shields used at different times by the College will be found in Atkinson and Clark's "Cambridge, Described and Illustrated." The first shield (Atkinson and Clark, p. 374) bears six quarterings; (1) Barry of eight argent and gules=Hungary; (2) France, a label of three points throughout gules=Naples; (3) Argent, a cross potent *cantonnée* with four others plain, or=Jerusalem; (4) France, a bordure gules=Anjou; (5) Azure, *semée* of cross crosslets two barbels hauriant endorsed, or=De Barre; (6) Or, on a bend gules three alerions displayed argent=Lorraine. These are the quarterings of Queen Margaret, without any bordure or difference. The fifth shield (Atkinson and Clark, p. 373) was granted in 1575 and consists of the arms of Queen Margaret, with the addition of a bordure vert. The crest—out of a coronet or an eagle rousant, sable wings of the first—was granted at the same time.

On the whole subject see "The Armorial Ensigns of the University and Colleges of Cambridge," by W. St. J. Hope, M.A. ("Camb. Antiq. Soc." vol. viii.).

E.—QUEENS' MEN IN THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CONTESTS.

It is not an easy matter to procure a full list of the members of a College who have figured in the Inter-University contests. The

lists of crews, elevens, &c., are complete, but in many cases the name of the College is not given. Perhaps the older members of Queens' College can supply names that belong to earlier years 1827-1875. The writer will only attempt to give the names of those who have competed since his own connexion with the College began.

In the University Boat of 1880, R. D. Prior rowed seven and W. M. Warlow four. G. H. Baker was cox. in 1886 and 1887, T. W. Northmore in 1889 and 1890.

For the Rugby University Football Club (of which the writer has been President for the last three years) H. F. S. Adams played full-back in 1884 and 1885, and the famous Welsh International C. B. Nicholl played forward in 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893. He was Secretary in 1891 and captain in 1892. N. C. Fletcher, who is still in residence, gained his blue as a forward in 1897 and 1898.

A. S. Farnfield played in the Association eleven in 1897.

In the University Athletic Club (of which the writer has the honour to be Treasurer) B. L. Parkin was second string in the Three Miles 1878; A. G. Paterson was first string in the Weight 1884, and second string 1885; S. O. Purves was full blue for the High Jump, 1885, and divided the event with the Oxford Jumpers; C. B. Nicholl, the footballer, was second string for the Weight, 1892, and full blue in 1893.

In what are known as "the minor contests," F. O. Houseman has played in the Hockey Team, H. M. Siddall and E. E. Apthorp in the Golf Team; H. B. Lester, W. C. Sandford, F. G. Scovell and J. D. Israel in the Chess Team.

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